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CONTENTS

	Page
THE MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC CULTURE OF THE SHORAPUR DOAB, KARNATAKA—K. Paddayya ..	1
FURTHER NOTICES OF ROCK-PAINTINGS IN BENKAL—A. Sundara ..	21
FEMALE HAIRDOS IN SANCHI SCULPTURE—A. L. Srivastava ..	33
STATUS OF RATHAKARAS IN EARLY INDIAN HISTORY—V. S. Jha ..	39
C14. DATES, NBP WARE AND EARLY HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PENINSULAR INDIA—I. Karthikeya Sarma ..	49
THE FIRST BUDDHIST COUNCIL—A SOLEMN SYNOD, A QUASI-JUDICIAL BODY OR AN ASSEMBLY OF THE ELDERS AGAINST THE HERETICS—Baij Nath Puri ..	57
KARAVANANDAPURAM OR UGGIRANKOTTAI—AN ANCIENT FORTRESS TOWN OF THE PANDYAS—K. V. Raman ..	69
THE DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE EARLY CENTURIES OF INDIA—Roswitha Conrad ..	75
EARLY HUNA INVASION OF PESHWAR IN THE LIGHT OF FA-HIEN'S ACCOUNT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE—M. D. N. Sahi ..	89
THE TRAVAILS OF FOREIGN JOURNEY BETWEEN EASTERN INDIA AND CHINA IN THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS—H. B. Sarkar	101
FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLAQ AND HIS TIMES—S. H. Askari ..	127
THE FIRST DECADE OF PORTUGUESE-VIJAYANAGARA RELATIONS—B. S. Shastry ..	147
BENGAL CONSPIRACY OF 1757-HINDU DISCONTENT?—Subhas Mukherjee	157
DR. HOVE'S TRAVELOGUE-A DOCUMENT FOR THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WESTERN INDIA—N. Benjamin	169
MAHARAJA LAKSHMISHWAR SINGH OF DARBHANGA-A DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC MAN AND LEGISLATOR—Jagdish Chandra Jha ..	179
THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSION IN TRAVANCORE—P. G. Edwin ..	189
VIJAYAKRSNA GOSVAMI: REFORMER AND TRADITIONALIST—Alexander Lipski ..	209

(*Continued on last page*)

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CONTENTS

THE MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC CULTURE OF THE SHORAPUR DOAB, KARNATAKA—K. Paddayya, Deccan College, Poona .. 1

FURTHER NOTICES OF ROCK-PAINTINGS IN BENKAL—A. Sundara, Department of History, Karnataka University, Dharwar. .. 21

FEMALE HAIRDOS IN SANCHI SCULPTURE—A. L. Srivastava, Department of Ancient History and Culture, C. M. P. Degree College, Allahabad. .. 33

STATUS OF RATHAKARAS IN EARLY INDIAN HISTORY—Dr. V. S. Jha, ICHR, New Delhi. .. 39

C^{14}. DATES, NBP WARE AND EARLY HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PENINSULAR INDIA—I. Karthikeya Sarma, Archaeological Survey of India, Hyderabad. 49

THE FIRST BUDDIST COUNCIL—A SOLEMN SYNOD, A QUASI-JUDICIAL BODY OR AN ASSEMBLY OF THE ELDERS AGAINST THE HERETICS—Dr. Baji Nath Puri, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University .. 57

KARAVANANDAPURAM OR UGGIRANKOTTAI-AN ANCIENT FORTRESS TOWN OF THE PANDYAS—Dr. K. V. Raman, Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Madras—9. .. 69

THE DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE EARLY CENTURIES OF INDIA—Dr. Roswitha Conrad, Munich University. .. 75

EARLY HUNA INVASION OF PESHWAR IN THE LIGHT OF FA-HIEN'S ACCOUNT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE—M. D. N. Sahi, Department of Ancient Indian History, Muslim University, Aligarh. .. 89

THE TRAVAILS OF FOREIGN JOURNEY BETWEEN EASTERN INDIA AND CHINA IN THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS—Prof. H. B. Sarkar, Retd. Principal, Government College, Kharagpur. .. 101

FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLAQ AND HIS TIMES—Prof. S. H. Askari. .. 127

THE FIRST DECADE OF PORTUGUESE—VIJAYANAGARA RELATIONS—Dr. B. S. Shastry, Centre of Post-Graduate Instruction and Research, Panaji, Goa. .. 147

BENGAL CONSPIRACY OF 1757–HINDU DISCONTENT?—Dr. Subhas Mukherjee, Department of History, Banaras Hindu University. .. 157

DR. HOVE'S TRAVELOGUE—A DOCUMENT FOR THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WESTERN INDIA—N. Benjamin, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. .. 169

MAHARAJA LAKSHMISHWAR SINGH OF DARBHANGA—A DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC MAN AND LEGISLATOR–Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jha, Professor of Indian Studies, University of West Indies St. Augustine, Trinidad, (West Indies) .. 179

THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSION IN TRAVANCORE—Prof. P. G. Edwin, University College, Trivandrum. .. 189

VIJAYAKṚṢṆA GŌSVĀMI; REFORMER AND TRADITIONALIST—Alexander Lipski, Prof. of History, California State University, Long Beach 6101, California—90840. .. 209

REVIEWS: 237

1. D. C. Jha. *Indo-Pakistan Relations*
by P. L. Mehra.

2. K. Gupta, *Society & Culture in the Time of Dandin*
by Gy. Wojtilla.

3. B. K. Gururaja Rao, *The Megalithic Culture of South India*
by K. V. Raman.

4. Upendra Thakur, *Mints & Minting in India*
by Lallanji Gopal.

5. A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*
by Lallanji Gopal.

The Middle Palaeolithic Culture of the Shorapur Doab, Karnataka

BY

K. PADDAYYA

The Middle Palaeolithic (hitherto called Middle Stone Age) sites forming the subject of the present paper were discovered between 1965-68, in the course of a comprehensive study of the Stone Age remains of the Shorapur Doab. The writer has elsewhere dealt with these sites in a detailed way (Paddayya, 1968: 23-67): the present account is only an abridged version of this larger study. The writer's subsequent investigations brought to light several more sites belonging to the culture under study; these will form part of a separate volume devoted to the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic remains of the area. Hence the present study is confined to the sites discovered and studied earlier.

I. *The Area, Sites and Stratigraphy*

The Area

The Shorapur Doab is a roughly triangular tract formed between the Krishna and Bhima rivers. It comprises the three Taluks of Shorapur, Shahpur and Jewargi, and forms the south-western part of the Gulbarga District of Mysore (Karnataka) State. Granite-gneiss of the Peninsular Crystalline Complex, limestones and shales of the Bhima series, and the Deccan Trap are the three chief geological formations found here. From the point of view of landforms, each Taluk forms a unit by itself. The Shorapur Taluk, forming the south-western unit, lies about 490 m. above sea level; it is hilly and featured by several hill ranges of granite-gneiss and plateaux of sedimentary rocks. Basin-shaped valleys formed amidst these ranges and plateaux are constant a feature. The Shahpur Taluk, lying immediately close to the Krishna-Bhima confluence, is monotonously plain, and the granite rock-floor is covered with black cotton soil of varying thickness. The northern zone, as formed by the Jewargi Taluk, is a gently undulating tract—a feature imparted by the Deccan Trap and sedimentary formations (limestones and shales).

The Krishna and the Bhima are the major rivers draining the Doab. The Don, a tributary of the Krishna, is another river of importance. Pleistocene sediments occur but at a limited number of places along the major rivers. Viewed from this point of view, it is the tributary streams which are more important: many of them have preserved tool-bearing sediments. The Hunsgi nullah, the Kolur nullah and the Kannekolur nullah are among the more important of these streams.

The Shorapur and Shahpur Taluks contain inexhaustible supplies of chert, which forms the chief raw material of the present lithic industry. First, it occurs as interbeddings in the limestone formations, seen at places like Salvadgi, Meralbhavi and Hegratgi (Mahadevan, 1941:134). Secondly, we have Inter-trappean beds like the ones found at Shelgi (Foote, 1876:198-9) and Karibhavi on the border between the Doab and the Bijapur District. Thirdly, we have what are called the High-level Gravels, known from about a dozen places situated both along and away from the banks of the major rivers. They are open-work sediments and occur as thin areal sheets. They consist mainly of chert, the minor rock components being quartzite, Trap, granite, etc. Earlier it was thought by the writer (1968:34) that they were formed contemporaneously with the Middle Palaeolithic culture. But subsequent investigations have made it clear that their deposition predates this culture (Paddayya, 1971.) It is interesting to note that extensive Middle Palaeolithic workshops came into existence at some of these gravel spreads.

Sites and Stratigraphy

So far about 35 sites (comprising both stratified and factory sites) have been discovered in the Doab. The artifactual material used in the present paper comes from the following nine sites.

Salvadgi—SVG

This is a workshop site lying on a limestone plateau serving as waterdivide between the Krishna and Don drainage systems. It was discovered by Sundara (IAR—1960-61:28), and the lithic material was later studied by Seshadri (1962)

The Stone Age site, lying about one and a half mile (2.4 Km.) west of the village of Salvadgi, is situated in a cultivated field called *Horpatiyavara Hola*. This field contains outcrops of chert occurring in the form of discontinuous patches in the limestone. On the basis of his typo-technological study of the collection, Seshadri suspected

the presence of two Palaeolithic industrial traditions: a flake industry and a blade and burin industry of Upper Palaeolithic character. In order to check this observation with the help of stratigraphical evidence, a small trench measuring 4×4 ft. (1.21×1.21 m.), was dug in the field containing the factory site. The artifacts were found to occur in a matrix of black soil, up to a depth of about 2 feet (0.6 m.) as follows:

	Flake artifacts	Blade artifacts	Waste products	Total
Surface	26	94	175	295
1 to 11 in. (1 to 18 cm.)	19	39	199	257
11 to 28 in. (28 to 45 cm.)	3	25	116	144
18 to 24 in. (45 to 61 cm.)	1	18	52	71
Total	49	176	542	767

This dig proved to be of no help because the flake and blade artifacts were found in a mixed condition. Taking into account the stratigraphical evidence from the sites to be described below, it was nevertheless thought that the flake artifacts represent a Middle Palaeolithic tradition and the blade artifacts an Upper Palaeolithic tradition. (It must be admitted that this bipartite division of the collection is artificial and hence has to be regarded as tentative. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the flake-tool artifacts found at this and the following site also form part of the Upper Palaeolithic industry.)

Meralbhavi—MBV

The village of Meralbhavi lies about two miles (3.2 Km.) south of Salvadgi. It is also a workshop site, located about one mile (1.6 Km.) west of the village. Like the one at Salvadgi, it contains extensive outcrops of chert and yielded artifacts of both Middle and Upper Palaeolithic traditions. The workshop is a cultivated field (locally called the *Manegidu Hola*) covering an area of 4 to 5 acres.

Mallur—MLR

This village is situated about two miles (3.2 Km.) due east of Salvadgi. The Stone Age workshop, lying a short distance north of the

village, is located at the foot of a shale plateau. This locality originally contained a Neolithic ashmound also. So it is not surprising that the Middle Palaeolithic artifacts were found in association with pottery and polished stone tools. No outcrops of chert were observed here.

Hegratgi—HGT

This is a river-bed site lying on the left bank of the river Don. Resting over the bed-rock (sandstone) is a gravel deposit varying from 2 to 3 feet (0.6 to 0.91 m.) in thickness. It occurs in the form of a sheet deposit having a lateral extent of about 200 feet. (61 m.). It is pebbly bouldery and made up mainly of limestone, the minor components being granite, shale, sandstone and quartz. The pebbles are set in a matrix of sand and silt and fully cemented with calcium carbonate. Capping this sediment is a non-implementiferous black brown silt varying from 8 to 10 ft. (2.4 to 3 m.) in thickness. It is kankary and intercalated with sandy gravels. The gravel deposit yielded 23 artifacts *in situ*; further, 91 artifacts were collected as loose finds.

Hurhatti—HHT

This is also a stratified site lying on the right bank of the same river, about one mile (1.6 Km.) downstream of the section at Hegratgi. Here the gravel deposit measures about 5 ft. (1.52 m.) in thickness and continues below the bed of the river; it is exposed for a length of 30 ft. (9.14 m.). Though poorly cemented, in composition and morphological character it is similar to the deposit found at Hegratgi. A collection of 24 artifacts (7 *in situ*) was made from here; a few molluscan shells were also found along with the *in situ* artifacts. The gravel is overlain by a 10 ft. (3 m.) thick deposit of black brown silt.

Devapur—DVP

This is a high-level gravel site, lying about one and a half mile (2.4 Km.) away from the left bank of the river Krishna. The gravel, situated about 40 ft. (12.2 m.) above the river bed, covers an area of several square kilometres. In a section exposed by a rain gully the gravel was found resting over weathered granite; it varies from 6 to 50 cm. in thickness. But no artifacts were found in the section. However, about half a mile (0.8 Km.) due east of the village an extensive factory site (DVP-1) was discovered in a cultivated field.

In a small nullah flowing on the western side of the village of Devapur, a loose patch of the redeposited gravel was found over the granite bed (DVP-2). Six artifacts were obtained from this gravel

Tumkur—TKR

This site also lies on the left bank of the river Krishna, about 30 miles (48 Km.) downstream of Devapur. It is also a factory site located on a high level gravel spread similar to the one found at Devapur. The occurrence lies very close to the river bank, about 25 ft. (7.6 m) above the river bed. The artifacts were found in an area of two acres of cultivated land. No gravel deposit was noticed along the river bank; it consists entirely of black brown silt.

Hagargundgi—HGD

It is a stratified site lying on the left bank of the river Bhima, about 13 miles (21 Km.) southwest of the town of Gulbarga. The cliff-section is exposed in a meander; it has a height of 25 ft. (7.6 m.) and laterally extends for over 200 metres. The bed-rock (shale) is overlain by 5 (1.52 m.) to 6 ft (1.82 m.) thick pebbly gravel. It differs from the gravels found at other places in one significant way. That is, the phenoclasts are of chalcedony and, to a lesser extent, of chert, agate and jasper, all derived from the Deccan Trap area. This gravel body show cross-bedding at places and is fully cemented. It yielded a large number of stone artifacts along with animal fossils.

The above-mentioned gravel conglomerate is disconformably overlain by a 15 ft. (4.57 m.) thick deposit of yellow brown silt showing horizontal bandingi (3 to 5 cm.) of *kankar*. It is free of both artifacts and animal fossils. It is capped by a 2 ft. (0.6 m.) thick deposit of black brown silt.

It may be useful there to make a brief reference to other tool-bearing sediments found in the Doab. At a place called Gulbal lying to the Shorapur Taluk, Early Palaeolithic tools were obtained from a bouldery conglomerate resting directly over the bed-rock. Since it occurs as a single deposit, it is not possible to know its relationship to other deposits. At several places in the Shorapur and Shahpur Taluks, Middle Palaeolithic tools were found to occur in gravels similar to those found at Hurhatti and Hegratgi. These gravels generally overlie the bed-rock; at a few places they succeed a travertine deposit (about half a metre in thickness). The succeeding yellow brown silt was everywhere found to be sterile. At certain places along the Hunsgi nullah, black brown silt (forming the topmost deposit) was found to yield blade-tool artifacts. This silt is of widespread occurrence in the Doab; the river banks generally consist exclusively of this sediment. At some places, workshops of the Mesolithic industry

were found on its top. Correlating the sediments with the lithic industries, we get the following order (from bottom upwards):

Terrace of black brown silt	Mesolithic
Black brown silt	Blade Industry (Upper Palaeolithic)
Yellow brown silt	Sterile
Pebbly gravel	Middle Palaeolithic
Travertine deposit	Sterile
(Relationship unknown)	
Bouldery gravel	Early Palaeolithic
Bed-rock	—

II. *The Lithic Industry*

Raw material

The raw material is formed almost exclusively of siliceous materials. As mentioned above, the gravel bed at Hagargundgi is made up of chalcedony and other silica minerals derived from the Deccan Trap formations. Of the total number of 181 artifacts obtained from here, as many as 158 are made of chalcedony, 20 of jasper and the remaining three of quartzite. The artifacts from the remaining sites are mainly of chert, the use of chalcedony, agate, quartzite and cherty quartzite being extremely rare. This chert is of two kinds. The one employed at Salvadgi, Meralbhavi, Mallur, Hegratgi and Hurhatti has dense, flint-like texture and yields perfect conchoidal fracture. It was obtained in the form of nodules, from the interbeddings occurring in the limestone formations. It is generally reddish brown, though dark blue, grey and black varieties are also met with. The variety used at Tumkur and Devapur is of rather coarse texture and varies from grey to creamy white. It was procured in the form of water-worn pebbles from the high-level gravels.

The specimens from the river-bed sites show traces of rolling, whereas the artifacts from the workshop sites are fresh with razor-sharp margins. The surfaces generally show a thin film of brownish or cream-coloured patina, the latter being confined to the whitish variety of chert.

Technology

The finished artifacts are made on nuclei (pebbles and nodules) as well as blanks struck from them deliberately (see Table 1). The latter are of four kinds, viz. plain flakes, Levallois flakes, flake-blades and

TABLE 1

Middle Palaeolithic Industry of the Shorapur Doab: Distribution of finished tools according to blank types used for their manufacture

	Scrapers	Points	Borers	Multiple Tools	Total
On Flakes	138	15	25	5	183 (55.79%)
On Flake-blades	45	9	3	4	61 (18.61%)
On Blades	13	5	1	–	19 (5.81%)
On Nuclei (Nodules/ Pebbles	53	9	3	–	65 (19.79%)
TOTAL	249	38	32	9	328

blades, obtained respectively by means of plain flaking, Levallois, steep core and blade core techniques.

The plain flaking technique is Clactonian in character; it consists of selecting a suitable nodule or pebble and removing directly a series of flakes by delivering blows with a stone hammer. Flakes are removed partly or all round the periphery; in certain cases the nodule or pebble is flaked from both surfaces, so that it assumes an oval or discoidal shape. The dorsal surfaces of the blanks so detached, unless worked secondarily, generally retain cortex.

In the case of the Levallois technique, one of the surfaces of the core is prepared or dressed by way of removing a series of flakes, which not infrequently converge in the centre of the surface. In some cases the platform is also specially prepared by removing one or more chippings. Flakes so removed are generally oval or discoidal in outline, with the dorsal surface bearing many negative flake-scars.

The steep core technique is based on the working of elongated (cylindrical or flat-bodied) pieces of raw material. If the ends are irregular, they are snapped in order to obtain a suitable platform for

flaking, The surfaces may be dressed partly or fully, though this is not a pre-requisite for the commencement of flaking. If the lower end is pointed, the core assumes an (inverted) pyramidal shape. Blows are struck vertically on the platform and thus a series of elongated flakes are detached along the longer axis. Caton-Thompson (1946:62, footnote) has called them flake-blades. They are longer than broad with parallel margins and bear parallel flake-scars on the dorsal surface.[1]

Blade technique is the logical successor to the steep core technique. The present writer calls blades all those flake-blades which have a length at least two times greater than the width. Secondly, some of the blades are so narrow as to suggest that they were detached by pressure technique or else by indirect percussion method.

The blanks obtained by the flaking methods described above are fashioned into finished tools by employing secondary working. Retouch or edge-trimming is the most common process; it consists of the removal, from the margin, of small chippings by applying pressure, so that not only the margin gets strengthened but its shape also becomes regularized. Preparation of tangs by shouldering one or both margins of the blank (Pl. 5, Nos. 49 and 50) and steep, protective blunting (Pl. 4, No. 20) are infrequent but noteworthy forms of secondary working. With regard to the manufacture of tools on nodules, they are shaped by chipping around the periphery and, in some cases, the surfaces as well (Pl. 5, No. 41). Finally, we must mention a few artifacts where the transverse working edge is obtained by means of steep working reminiscent of the end-scrapers of the European Upper Palaeolithic (Pl. 4, No. 28).

Typology

The collection consists of 1928 specimens. These are first classified into two broad groups: finished tools (328:17.1%) and simple artifacts (1600: 82.9%).

A. Finished Tools

Scrapers, points, borers and multiple tools are the four major groups of tools; their site- and type-wise distribution is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Middle Palaeolithic Industry of the Shorapur Doab: Distribution of finished tools according to site and type

	SVG	MBV	MLR	HGT	HHT	DVP-1	DVP-2	TKR	HGD	Total
1. SCRAPERS										
a. Straight (single)	3	10	4	3	–	5	–	2	18	45 (13.71%)
b. Straight (double)	2	2	1	–	–	–	–	2	1	8 (2.43%)
c. Notched	2	13	5	4	2	4	–	5	10	45 (13.71%)
d. Concave	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	6 (1.83%)
e. Convex	–	9	3	2	–	6	1	1	4	26 (7.92%)
f. Straight-cum-convex	–	1	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	5 (1.58%)
g. Straight-cum-notched	–	1	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	3 (0.90%)
h. Concave-cum-convex	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3 (0.90%)
i. Convex-cum-notched	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	5 (1.58%)
j. Transverse-edged	4	8	7	2	1	5	–	6	6	39 (11.88%)
k. Stright-cum-transverse	2	2	2	–	–	3	–	–	–	9 (2.75%)
l. Concave-cum-transverse	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 (0.29%)
m. All round	2	8	12	10	2	12	–	4	4	54 (16.45%)
Total	16	63	35	23	5	38	1	22	46	249 (75.98%)

Continued......

TABLE 2 continued....

	SVG	MBV	MLR	HGT	HHT	DVP-1	DVP-2	TKR	HGD	Total
2. **POINTS**										
a. Simple	–	7	2	2	–	4	–	–	8	23 (6.99%)
b. Tanged	–	2	1	–	–	3	–	–	–	6 (1.83%)
c. Bifacial	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	4	3	9 (2.75%)
Total	–	9	4	2	–	7	1	4	11	38 (11.56%)
3. **BORERS**	2	11	4	–	1	5	–	1	8	32 (9.75%)
4. **MULTIPLE TOOLS**	–	4	1	1	–	1	–	1	1	9 (2.75%)
Grand Total	18	87	44	26	6	51	2	28	66	328 (100.00%)

I. *Scrapers* (249: 75.98%)

These artifacts have a working end which assumes the form of an edge; this may be straight, convex, concave, etc. in shape. It must be admitted that the term scraper is used here in a very broad sense, and it is by no means suggested that all these artifacts were used for scraping only. On the contrary, it is most likely that some of these artifacts (e.g. No, 2) were used for other operations also—for cutting, slicing, etc. Basing on the form and location of the working edge, these artifacts are classified into the following 13 types.

Straight (*single*) (Pl. 3, Nos. 1 and 2; Pl. 4, Nos. 20-2, 30 and 32)

In some cases the working edge, though straight in shape, has a diagonal orientation in relation to the longitudinal axis of the artifact (Nos. 2 and 32). Nos. 21 and 22 or interesting inasmuch as the back opposite to the working edge is worked in a steep way to a convex shape, so that the artifacts assume a rather crescentic form. Similar artifacts occur in the Middle Stone Age collections of Southern Africa. Clark (1958 a:148) thinks that they were probably mounted transversely on wooden handles and used adze-wise for wood-working.

Straight (*double*) (Pl. 3, No. 3; Pl. 4, No. 33)

Here both longitudinal margins of the blank are worked in a straight line.

Notched (Pl. 3, Nos. 6 and 7; Pl. 4, Nos. 24, 31 and 35)

The notched working edge occupies but only a part of the length of the margin. There is little doubt that these and the concave-edged artifacts were used as spokeshaves (for an interesting discussion of this topic, see Clark, 1958 b).

Concave (Pl. 3, Nos. 4 and 5)

Unlike in the preceding type, the working edge now extends over the entire length of the margin. In some rare cases (No. 4) it is obtained by removing a large flake and not by means of edge-retouch.

Convex (Pl. 3, Nos. 8 and 9; Pl. 4, Nos. 23 and 34)

The working edge is prominently convex in all the cases. Some of the examples are made on discarded cores (No. 34).

Straight edge-cum-convex (Pl. 3, No. 10, Pl. 4, No. 25.)

Here one of the margins is straight or nearly so, while the opposite one is convex.

Straight-edge-cum-notched (Pl. 4, No. 26)

The notched edge may be located on the lateral margin or at the distal-end of the blank. The specimen illustrated here is notched at the end as well as on the margin opposite to the straight edge.

Concave-cum-convex (Pl. 3, No. 11; Pl. 4, No. 27)

Both edges are located on the lateral margins and face each other.

Convex-cum-notched (Pl. 3, No. 12)

The specimen illustrated here has the notched edge at the distal-end of the flake.

Transverse-edged (Pl. 3, Nos. 13 and 14; Pl. 4, Nos. 28, 36–8)

Here the edge is always located at one of the ends. It may be straight (14, 28, 37), convex or somewhat semi-circular (13, 36 and 38). Nos. 28 and 36 are obtained by steep working of the edges and No. 14 has an incipient tang. Clark (1958 a: 146–7) believes that some of these artifacts were set in mastic and mounted transversely on handles. Several such hafted examples are known from Southern Africa.

Straight-cum-transverse-edged (Pl. 3, No. 15; Pl. 4, No. 29)

The transverse edge may be straight (No. 29) or convex (No. 15).

Concave-cum-transverse-edged

There is only one specimen belonging to this category; here the distal-end is retouched to a fan-shaped outline.

All round (Pl. 3, Nos. 16, 17, 18 and 19; Pl. 4, Nos, 39, 39A and 42; Pl. 5, Nos. 40, 41)

In these artifacts the working edge runs all round the periphery. In shape, they may be circular/discoidal (16, 39, 39A and 40), oval (41) or elongated (19 and 42). A few specimens are small enough to be called thumb-nail scrapers (No. 18).

II. *Points* (38:11.56%)

Here the working end is of the pointed type and not of the edge category. Basing on the general morphology of the artifacts and

the nature of secondary working, these artifacts are classified into three sub-types: simple, tanged and bifacial.

In the case of simple points, selection is generally made of a blank whose lateral margins already taper off to a point at one of the ends; this pointed end is brought into prominence by secondary working (Pl. 5, Nos. 43, 45 and 46). A small number of examples have their margins also retouched all along (Pl. 5, No. 44).

The tanged variety differs from the preceding type in that the lower end is shaped into a tang. In two specimens, it is achieved by merely thinning down the dorsal surface by means of fine chipping (Pl. 5, Nos. 47 and 48). The rest have shouldered butts (Pl. 5, Nos. 49 and 50).

The bifacial points are very characteristic; these are made on elongated nuclei (Pl. 5, Nos. 51, 52 and 53). They are subjected to fine flaking on one or both surfaces. The transverse cross-section may be triangular, trapezoidal or biconvex.

III. *Borers* (32: 9.75%)

The working ends of these artifacts are nose–shaped and as such have a semi–independent existence. They are obtained by notching one (Pl. 5, Nos. 54 and 57) or both sides (Pl. 5, Nos. 55, 56 and 58) of the working end.

IV. *Multiple Tools* (9: 2.75%)

Here the scraper edge is combined with the pointed or nosed working end. Of the total number of nine examples, one is a scraper-cum-point (Pl. 5, No. 59) and the rest are scraper–cum–borers. Among the latter again, the scraper edge may be straight (Pl. 6, No. 60). concave (Pl. 6. No. 61), notched (Pl. 6, No. 62) and all round.

B. Simple Artifacts

Their site and type-wise distribution is shown in Table 3.

I. *Cores* (83; 5.19%)

We have cores representing all the four techniques of flaking observed in the industry.

Of the 66 specimens representing the plain flaking technique, 20 are elongated, 6 globular, 28 oval/discoidal and the rest atypical. All

TABLE 3

Middle Palaeolithic Industry of the Shorapur Doab: Distribution of simple artifacts according to site and type

	SVG	MBV	MLR	HGT	HHT	DVP-1	DVP-2	TKR	HGD	Total
1. **CORES**										
a. Plain	4	4	9	9	3	5	1	20	11	66 (4.13%)
b. Prepared	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	–	3 (0.19%)
c. Steep	–	–	1	–	–	3	–	2	2	8 (0.50%)
d. Fluted	–	–	–	1	–	3	–	–	2	6 (0.37%)
2. **PLAIN FLAKES**										
a. Fresh	13	13	3	2	3	10	1	10	11	66 (4.13%)
b. Utilized	5	12	5	1	–	12	–	4	5	44 (2.74%)
3. **LEVALLOIS FLAKES**										
a. Fresh	4	15	7	8	–	8	1	31	8	82 (5.13%)
b. Utilized	2	13	5	1	3	4	1	3	5	37 (2.31%)
4. **FLAKE–BLADES**										
a. Fresh	2	30	5	3	1	10	–	26	5	82 (5.13%)
b. Utilized	1	22	4	4	–	7	–	1	2	41 (2.56%)
5. **BLADES**										
a. Fresh	–	–	–	2	–	8	–	12	–	22 (1.37%)
b. Utilized	–	–	–	1	–	4	–	1	2	8 (0.50%)
6. **WASTE PRODUCTS**	542	321	60	56	8	45	–	41	62	1135 (70.94%)
Total	573	430	99	88	18	121	4	152	115	1600 (100.00%)

excepting 12 examples are flaked bifacially. Seven specimens belonging to the oval group show centrally- directed flake-scars (Pl. 6, Nos. 63, 64 and 65). In some cases the surfaces are markedly convex, so that the specimen has a biconical shape. Of the three prepared cores, two are oval (Pl. 6 No. 66) and the third sub-rectangular (Pl. 6, No.67). The back retains cortex in all the three cases. The steep cores (Pl. 6, No. 68) are either flat or cylindrical; the flaking end is flat and formed by a single scar-bed. Two of the fluted cores are flat-bodied, and the rest are cylindrical or nearly so (Pl. 6, No. 69).

II. *Plain flakes* (110: 6.87%)

The surfaces of these blanks generally retain cortex in full, and the margins are fresh (Pl. 6, No. 70). The batter-marks seen along the margins of some of the examples may have resulted from use (Pl. 6, No. 71.)

III. *Levallois Flakes* (119: 7.44%)

Some of the specimens show the characteristic convergent flaking on the dorsal surface (Pl. 6, No. 72), while the rest do not show any definite pattern in the preparation of the core (Pl.6, Nos. 73 and 74).

IV. *Flake-blades* (123: 7.69%)

They may be rectangular (Pl. 6, Nos. 75 and 76) or triangular (Pl. 6, No. 77) in outline and bear parallel flake-scars on the dorsal surface.

V. *Blades* (30: 1.87%)

Eight specimens among these blanks bear use-marks along the margins (Pl. 6, No. 78).

VI. *Waste Products* (1135: 70.94%)

They represent the by-products of both primary and secondary forms of flaking.

Summing up the above study, we may say that the industry is mainly based on the manufacture of tools on secondary blanks—flakes, flake-blades and blades as against primary blanks (nodules and pebbles) (see Table 1). The respective percentages of the two categories of blanks are 80.21% (263 examples) and 19.79% (65 examples). Among the former group, 183 specimens are made on flakes, 61 on flake-blades and 19 on blades. We thus see that the industry relies very heavily on flake-tools. This flake-tool character is also revealed by the proportions of secondary blanks included under simple

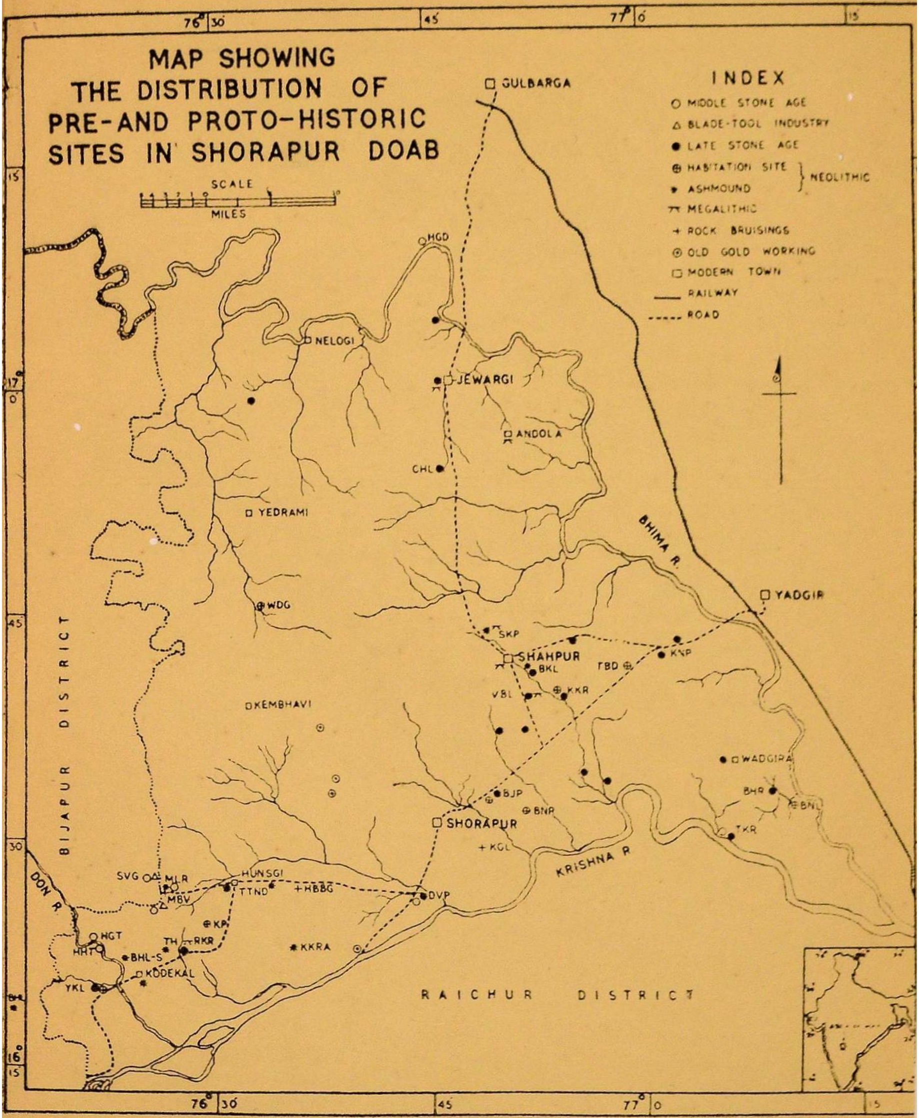
artifacts. Of the total number of 382 examples, flakes account for about 60% (228 examples).

Typologically, the industry is dominated by scrapers. They account for 75.98% (249) of the collection; points (38: 11.56%) and borers (32: 9.75%) occur in more or less equal proportions. In this respect, the industry campares well with the assemblages from other parts of the country. However, we must take note of two interesting features. First, the bifacial points constitute a rare type and can be compared with the *Blattspitzen* (leaf-points) of the Middle Palaeolithic cultures of eastern and central Europe. In the Indian subcontinent these artifacts are known but from a few regions only, e.g. Rajasthan (Misra, 1963:139). The second feature concerns the total absence of Early Palaeolithic types like the handaxes and cleavers. It may be pointed out that these types do occur regularly in certain regions like Rajasthan (Misra, 1963:133–4) and Andhra (Murty, 1966:111–3).

III. *Discussion*

From a cursory glance at their spatial distribution it is clear that the sites are clustered in the southwestern and southeastern zones. The Bhima valley site of Hagargundgi is the only site lying away from the cluster. (To this site may be added the one at Jawali discovered by Nagaraju (1971) on the Amarju river. It lies immediately to the north of our area. The explanation for this concentration is not far to seek. As we have already mentioned, the Shorapur and Shahpur Taluks contain inexhaustible supplies of chert, which occurs in the form of limestone interbeddings, Intertrappean beds and high-level gravels derived from the latter. As opposed to this, the Deccan Trap formations of the northern belt have but extremely limited supplies of chalcedony and other siliceous minerals; further, the nodules are much smaller in size. So the raw material seems to have been a very important factor in the selection of sites.

The site of Kaldevanhalli, lying on the Hunsgi nullah, has yielded a good quantity of molluscan shells. This sample has been submitted to the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Ahmedabad, for C–14 dating; the results of analysis are still awaited. So at the present moment we are unable to say much regarding the age of the culture. However, we must mention the C–14 dates obtained for some of the Middle Palaeolithic sites in Maharashtra; these dates range from 19000 to 32000 years B. P.[2] On the basis of this comparative evidence and also taking into account the association of fossil fauna at the site of Hagargundgi, we may assign our culture to the Upper Pleistocene.


MAP SHOWING
THE DISTRIBUTION OF
PRE-AND PROTO-HISTORIC
SITES IN SHORAPUR DOAB
SCALE
MILES
INDEX
MIDDLE STONE AGE
BLADE-TOOL INDUSTRY
LATE STONE AGE
HABITATION SITE
ASHMOUND
NEOLITHIC
MEGALITHIC
ROCK BRUISINGS
OLD GOLD WORKING
MODERN TOWN
RAILWAY
ROAD
GULBARGA
HGD
NELOGI
JEWARGI
ANDOLA
CHL
YEDRAMI
BHIMA R.
YADGIR
WDG
SKP
SHAHPUR
BKL
TBD
KVP
VBL
KKR
KEMBHAVI
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BNL
BJP
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SHORAPUR
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BIJAPUR DISTRICT
DON R
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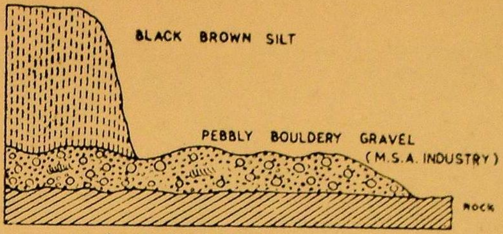
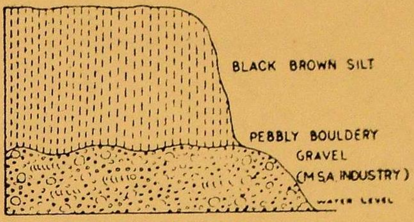
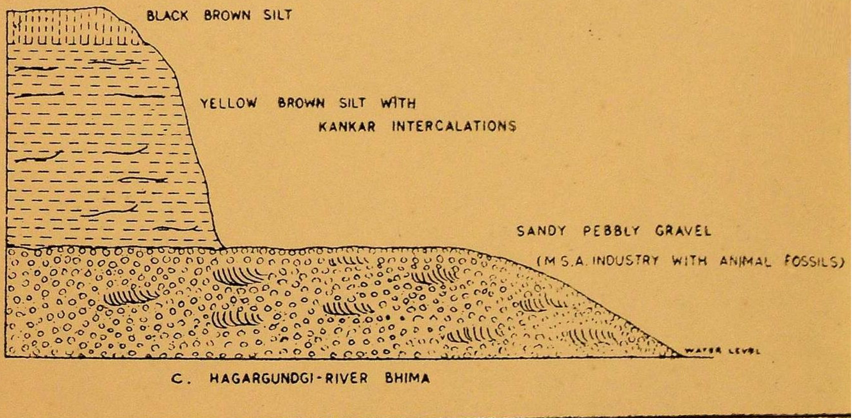


A. HEGRATGI - RIVER DON



B. HURHATTI - RIVER DON



C. HAGARGUNDGI - RIVER BHIMA

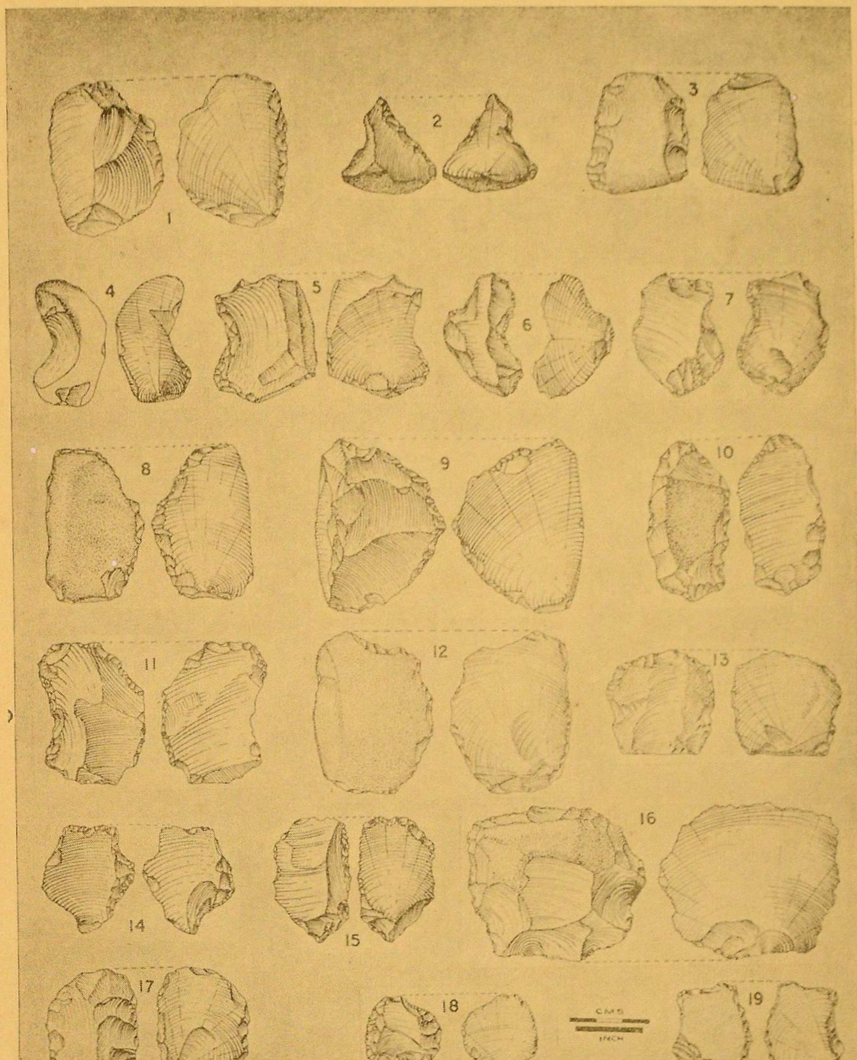


PLATE I

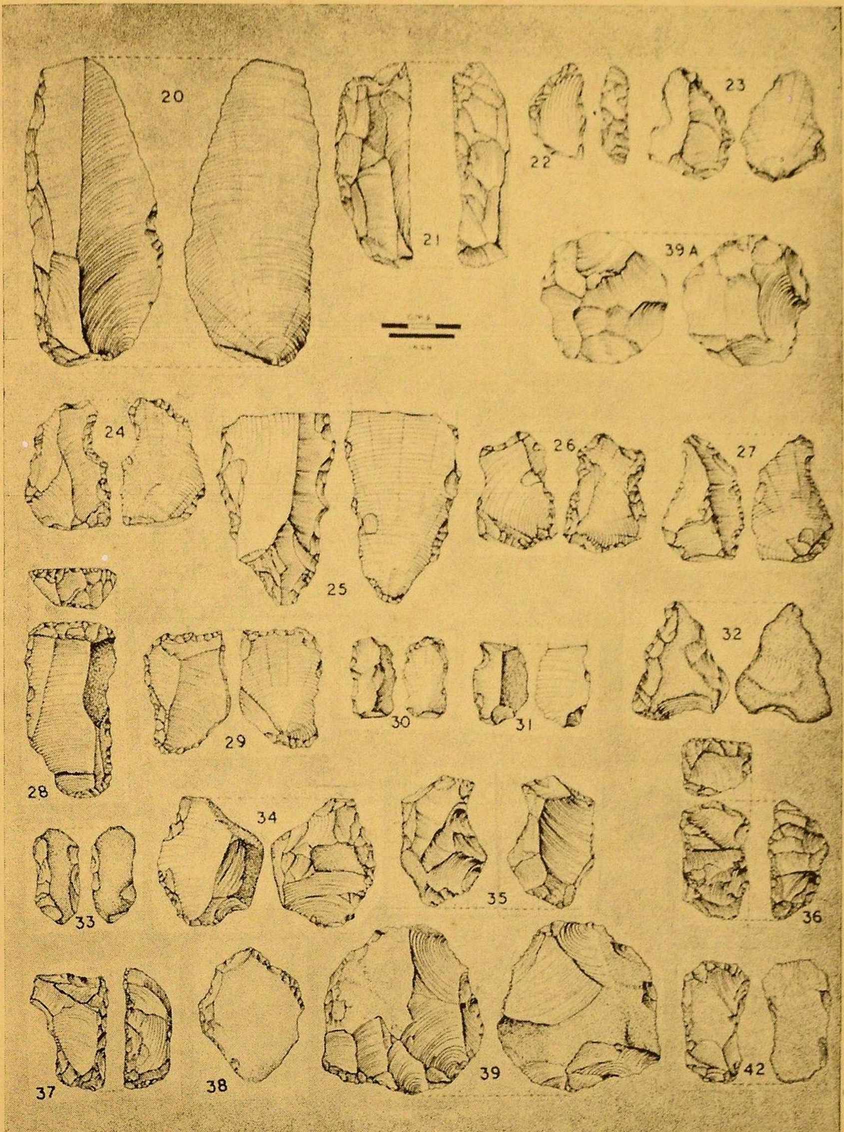


PLATE II

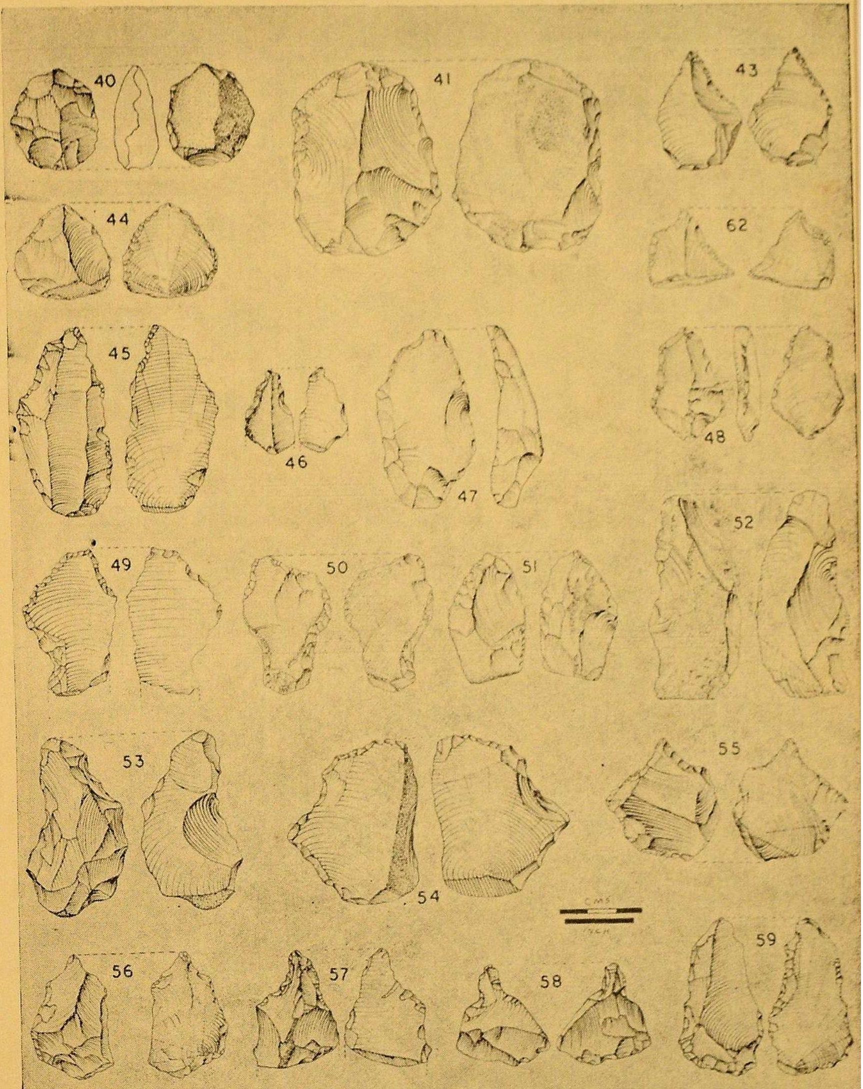


PLATE III

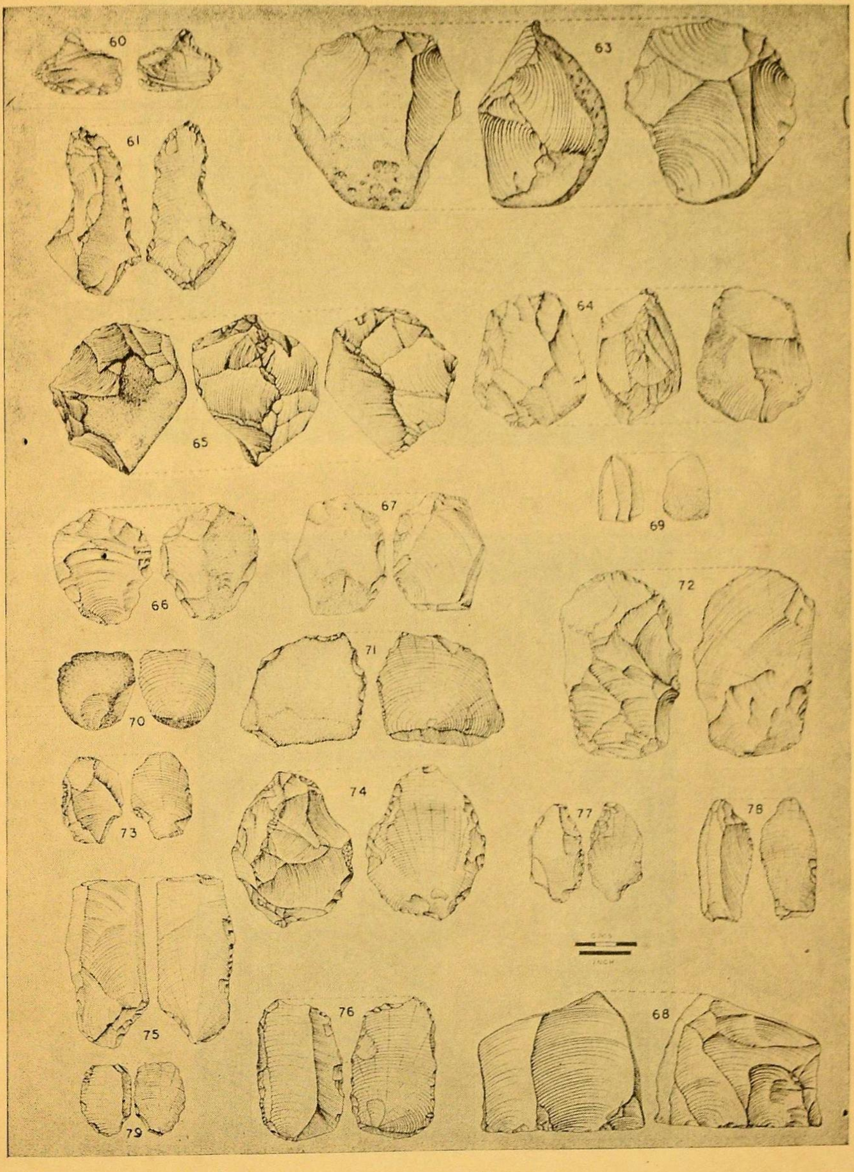
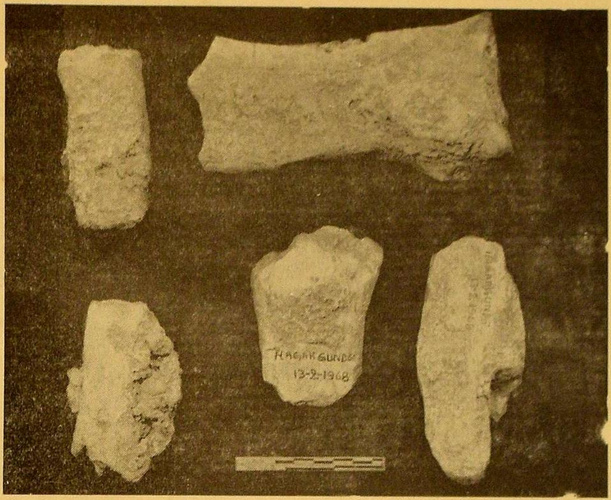


PLATE IV



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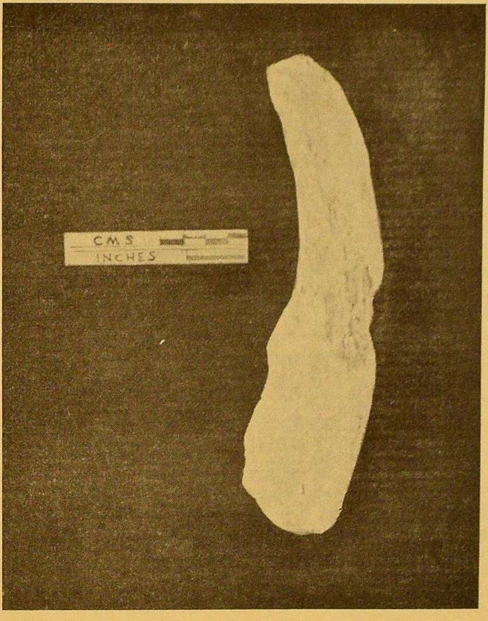

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PLATE V

Apart from their value for dating, the collection of fossils from Hagargundgi gives us an idea of the faunal world in which the Middle Palaeolithic man of our area lived. The assemblage has not so far been studied but in a preliminary way (Paddayya, 1969.) It consists of 18 specimens in all. Of these, 17 are loose finds made on the eroded surface of the gravel. They comprise one jaw fragment, one antler piece, one complete shoulder blade, the rest being fragments of leg and rib bones (Pl. 7, No. 1). The antler piece (Pl. 9, No. 2) evidently belongs to an animal of the Cervidae family : the rest, including the jaw fragment, represent an unknown species of the genus *Bos*. Apart from these finds, a nearly complete pelvic bone was chiselled out from the gravel. It is most likely of an animal belonging to the genus *Elephas* The assemblage thus proves that several animal species were available for hunting purposes.

NOTES

1. Bordes (1950: 21–2; 1961: 17–18) classifies these blanks under the products of the Levallois technique. He distinguishes two categories: (a) rectangular or sub-rectangular examples, and (b) Levellois points consisting of elongated, blade-like blanks with pointed distal end–a feature resulting from the conical shape of the core. By including these blanks under the products of the Levellois technique, Bordes obviously suggests that there is an evolutionary relationship between the steep core technique and the true Levellois technique. But this can be objected to on the following three grounds:

First, in the case of the Levellois technique the dorsal surface of the core is fully prepared before the removal of the flake. But the prior preparation of the core is not a precondition in the case of the steep core technique. This working is not necessary because the long ridges along the corners facilitate the initiation of flaking. Whenever such ridges are lacking (as in the case of smooth-bodied nuclei like water-worm pebbles), the initiation of flaking is facilitated by striking off a few vertical flakes from one or both ends. And the prior preparation *sensu stricto* is confined to the ends, so that a suitable platform is achieved. Secondly, in the Levallios technique it is generally possible to remove but a solitary flake: thereafter the core is discarded. As against this, a steep core gives out a series of blanks, as is borne out by the negative flake-scars left on it. The third objection concerns the difference between the blanks obtained by the two flaking procedures. The Levallios flakes are oval or circular in outline: some rare examples are elongated. As against this, the flake-blades are always elongated, i.e. the length exceeds the breadth. The margins run more or less parallel to each other, and the bulbs are always terminal.

Thus both as regards the form and preparation of the nucleus and the morphology of the resultant blanks, the Levallois and steep core techniques differ fundamentally from each other. The latter's origin cannot be sought in the Levallios technique. As suggested by Paterson (1945: see chart in Fig. 5), this technique most probably evolved from the proto-biconical pebble core of the Clactonian type.

2. Boregaon Nandur (Mula Dam), Inamgaon and Paithan have been dated by this method. The readings are, respectively, TF-345 $31075 \pm \frac{5550}{3245}$ $(3190 \pm \frac{5715}{3340})$, TF-1003 $21110 \pm \frac{615}{570}$ $(21725 \pm \frac{630}{585})$ and TF-891 18490 ± 650 (19025 ± 660). All are B. P. calculations: the dates in parenthesis are based on the half-life value of 5730 ± 40 years.

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Legends for Plates

Plate 1. Map of the Shorapur Doab. Karnataka, showing important Middle Palaeolithic (Middle Stone Age) and other prehistoric sites.

Plate 2. River sections from the Shorapur Doab bearing Middle Palaeolithic tools.

Plate 3. Middle Palaeolithic tools from the Shorapur Doab, Karnataka.

Plate 4. Middle Palaeolithic tools from the Shorapur Doab, Karnataka.

Plate 5. Middle Palaeolothic tools from the Shorapur Doab, Karnataka.

Plate 6. Middle Palaeolothic tools from the Shorapur Doab, Karnataka.

Plate 7. (1) Scapula and incomplete leg and rib bones of an unknown species of the genus *Bos* from Hagargundgi on the Bhima river; (2) Antler fragment of an unknown species of the Cervidae family from the same site.

Further Notices of Rock-Paintings in Hire-Benkal

A. Sundara

Munn (ARHAD, 1934-35, Appendix D) was the first to notice three rock-paintings near the well-known groups of megalithic chamber tombs reported earlier by Keis (Taylor: 1941, pp 55, 62) in the Hire-Benkal bouldery hill ranges (District Raichur, Mysore) of granite-gneiss. He (1935, pp 225-30) also noted an ash mound near the village. Later on Gordon and Allchin (1955, pp 97-99) had discussed the paintings. In the course of my study of the megaliths and the paintings here in 1965-68 I noticed a neolithic habitation site near the ash mound and seven more rock-paintings. Many of them are very interesting and important as they have some unusual and significant depictions.

The newly noticed rock-paintings are numbered in continuation of the previous ones as rock-paintings No. 4, 5,......... and so on., to avoid possible confusion.

Like the previous, the newly-noticed paintings executed in red ochre of varying shades are found on the natural, rough, flat, wide surface of the boulders of natural caves or rock-shelters, generally of difficult access.

I. *The new rock-paintings: a descriptive account.*

As mentioned above, the rock-paintings Nos. 1, 2 and the human figure of No. 3, are briefly described by Munn, Gordon. Only the newly noticed are therefore described below. The rock-painting No. 3 is in a shelter formed by an immensely huge boulder resting on comparatively small boulders at the back and in the middle. The boulder in the middle actually divides the space under the shelter into two compartments: eastern and western. The eastern compartment looks south and the western, west. It is on the flat roof of the eastern compartment, the painted human figure is found, described in the Annual Report mentioned above and illustrated by Gordon (1955; plate G.d.)

The eastern compartment gradually becomes narrow westwards and measures 9 m. x 3 m. x $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ m.

The painted human figure in red ochre lines is 2.60 m. high and 1.50 m. broad at the squatted knees. It is nude and standing. The head is disproportionately small. The arms are horizontally stretched on the sides; the fore-hands, lifted up. The hands are not completely shown. The legs are stretched apart and squatted. The body is sturdy and shown in lines and filled with horizontal zig-zig, criss-cross lines and triangles and diamonds probably suggesting the painted body of the man engaged in some ritual.

The western compartment measures 5.60 × 3.50 m. On the floor are small boulders. The roof is concave that gradually touches the floor at one end. Nearer the bottom of the roof is an unintelligible painting that does not seem to have been noticed by Munn as there is no mention of this in the Report or in the subsequent paper by Gordon and Allchin. It consists of double squares and with diagonals, two animal tails (?), elephant with long trunk, donkey or dog.

No antiquities are found in this shelter.

Rock-painting No. 4:

On the eastern side and close to the central group of the megaliths are two rock-shelters one beside the other both looking north. The paintings in both the shelters are rather too faint for identification by untrained eyes.

The eastern rock-shelter has horse-riders, a peacock, an antelope and three dancing men (shown in lines) hand-in-hand.

In the western shelter are again dancing men. The other figures are very faint.

Rock-painting No. 5: (*Plate I*, 1).

Almost in the middle of the way through a hill valley, called "Basari Koḷḷa" to the Rock painting No. 2, at about 30 m. height, is a huge boulder with jet black surface, by the side of the way, the biggest in the surrounding area. It makes a cavity with the underneath rocky surface owing to erosion. This cave looks east-northeast. In the hollow of the facade to the right and on the vertical surface of the interior left wall of the cave, are painted figures.

(a) *Paintings in the interior.* (*plate I*, 2 *& figure 1.*)

The area of the surface with paintings, is 2.50 m. IX 0.90 m. high. The painted figures are human beings with horns and tails (probably

put on in connection with some ritual): very rare features in the rock-paintings; antelopes with long horns, (unfinished or worn out) peacock and a geometrical design i. e, a circle with two diameters intersecting at right angles. One of the human figures, shown only in outline is nearly comparable to that of the copper anthropomorphic figure from Sheorampur (Lal, B. B., 1951) while the biggest one[1] about 60 cms. high, standing in what looks like tribhanga pose, comparable to the human figures with horns and tail of the Mohenjodaro seals (J. Marshall, 1931, plate CXI Nos. 356, 357).

(b) *Paintings in the facade*

Area of the painting 1.70 m.l × 0.80 high, Antelopes with long wavy horns, a human being with tail (?); bull (without hump) are found here.

Rock-painting No. 6:– (Plate I, 3 & 4).

A Rock-shelter is situated just to the left of the highest peaks called "Durgad Dadi" in the the middle of the slopes of the hills, commanding the view of the cultivated fields in the plains below and also of the two villages Hire-Benkal and Chik-Benkal, about a km. and $200° west of the former. It is formed of three huge boulders with flat surfaces: one at the top, one at the back on which rests the top one and one at the bottom that abutts the rear one. It looks north-northeast. The facade of the shelter measures 8 m. x 2.50 m. x 1.60m.

It is on the vertical wall of the rear boulder and on the flat interior of the top boulder a large number of figures, humans and animals, in red ochre, is found.

(a) *Paintings on the interior of the roof.* Measures 6.30 m. × 2.00 m.

On the interior of the roof are depicted human figures with weapons such as bows and arrows, axes having splayed out working edge, some standing on the horseback with weapons in their hands;

1. What is described as tail in this figure, may be taken to be the male organ by some. However, in view of its depiction as hanging downwards from the side of the body nearer the waist region; of its relative length and form and of the fact that the artists of these paintings were capable of showing phallus in correct position (i.e. in between the thighs) and form as evident from the nude man of Rock-painting No. 3, mentioned above, indicate that it is probably tail and not phallus.

groups of men hand-in-hand; humped bulls and cows; peacock; stags; a tiger (with bands shown on the body) that seems to have caught a stag and a geometrical design: i.e. two sets of three parallel lines cutting one another at right angles and forming four squares each with diagonals and the projected ends of the lines being connected with a festoon-like line in brown ocher comparatively fresh.

(b) *Paintings on the hind wall*

The painted area measures 2.55 m. × 1.10 m.

Here the figures are faint and rather dark pinkish. They, comparatively few in number, are antelopes, bulls, a horse-rider, a group of men hand-in-hand.

From this shelter were collected a neolithic grey ware pottery, piece of Maski fabric and some potsherds of megalithic redware and black-and-red ware. It should be noted here that a few meters above the rock-shelter is a megalithic habitation site. It is, therefore, probable that the potsherds in question might have been washed down into the rock-shelter from the habitation site. And it is quite likely that the megalithic cultural debris may well overlie the neolithic debris as feebly indicated by the presence of worn-out neolithic grey ware pot-sherds. About the neolithic habitation site with ash mound near the village, it is mentioned above.

Rock-painting No. 7:—

Situated in the "Basari Kolla" almost at the beginning of the ascent, in the steep-sided rock-shelter called "Myādar Baṇḍe" looking north. A long stretch of the north side of the rock here, suddenly becomes precipitous the central part being hollowed into a cave and the vertical face of the rock on the left side of the cave being stepped owing to exfoliaton. On the stepped surface are found some figures of bulls and a peacock. Area of the painting 2m. × 0.60 m. at a height of 1.40 m.

Rock-painting No. 8:—

Ascending by the Basari Kolla up on the hill and taking a south-western turn from the Rock-painting No. 5, a few meters after crossing a ridge of dolerite dyke, on the way to the eastern group of the megaliths, is a huge rock-shelter like an arched gateway. On the upper right boulder, are painted in red ochre two figures with bands on their body, that are perhaps tigers.

Area of the painting 1.20 m. × 0.90 m.

Rock-painting No. 9:—

This is situated on the north-western side of the eastern group of the megaliths. It is really a cave with two openings from two sides.

On the interior walls, at two places, are painted what looks a tiger and an unintelligible figure.

Rock-painting No. 10.

Almost in the middle range of the peak, Durgad Dadi and to the right of the Rock-painting No. 6., is a narrow cave looking north. On the left wall of the cave are some human figures weaving long swords with hilt about their waists, bows and arrows, etc. They are painted in red ochre.

II. *Rock-paintings Nos. 1,4, & 6:—a critical analysis.*

Of the rock-paintings briefly noted above, No. 1, 4 and 6, owing to their situation in the midst of or near the megalithic sites and in view of certain aspects of the theirs such as the representations of horses and various types of weapons probably of iron, appear to have some bearing on the megalithic culture of the site, and are therefore considered in detail below.

Rock-painting No. 1:—

The figures delineated can be grouped as follows:

I. Human figures.
II. Animal figures.

I. *Human figures:—*

There are about 68 human figures, all shown in standing postures. Some are in rows, consisting of 15,11,8, 3 and 2 persons. A row of two persons is repeated thrice at different spots. These human beings in rows, are hand-in-hand suggesting them to be in dancing posture. One of the or both the extreme figures in these rows, sometimes, hold in one of their free hands weapons like an axe with splayed out working edge, lance with spikes at one end, sword etc. In the case of some groups, below their feet a line is drawn.

In two groups of two each, projections, like light rays, from the head of one person are shown. About one of these D. H. Gordon (1955, p. 98) writes, "In the bottom left-hand corner, one of these women is clutched by the arm by a man who displays an exaggerated phallus" and thus thinks the person with rayed dress, to be woman.

However, one person with rayed hairdress, of the couples, seems to hold a sword pointed downwards while the partner, an axe with splayed out edge. In fact, all the human figures in front profile are painted like silhouette. Anatomical characteristics of the male or female to distinguish one from the other, would not be shown in this primitive method of painting. Further, human beings with this type of hair dress, apparently men, do occur in the paintings of the rock-shelters elsewhere at Chibbar Nala, Dist. Mandasor (IAR. 1957-58, pp. 26-28) and of some chalcolithic pottery (IAR, 1957–58, p. 23). Thus merely on the basis of the rayed hair dress it is difficult to identify the figure to be a woman. On the other hand, with the weapon-like sword the person holds, in one case, that is rather unbecoming to a woman in the paintings of prehistoric period, it is quite likely that the person with the rayed head dress is a priest engaged in some ritual and the hair dress might be symbolic of his association in the ritual in progress.

Generally these figures are more or less of uniform size. Occasionally, the size is enlarged. There is a group of three small human figures, probably children.

Single person is depicted at three places, One holds a spear in one hand and an axe in the other. Another person keeps his hands on the waist.

Among these human figures, there are horse riders, here and there ten in all. While some are seated, on the horse back, others stand on them. They carry weapons such as spears, or axe or a long object with serrated edges in one of their hands and the reins controlling the horse and sometimes also a weapon in the other. One noteworthy feature here is that *reins with its one end from the mouth of the horse instead of going below the neck and then upwards into the hands of the rider, are shown going over the head, invariably, a distinctive mode of depiction.*

II. *Animals:—*

About 7 bulls and / or cows some with humps, 5 deer including antelopes and stags, two peacocks and a dog, are scattered amidst the human figures.

Rock-painting No. 4:—

In this, there is not anything more worthy of detailed analysis than what is already noted above.

Rock-painting No. 6:—

Essentially this is similar to the rock-painting No. 1, in its depictions. But the horse-riders, the bulls and the cows are more numerous. Besides, what appears to be a man seated on the horse-back, charging at a tiger attacking a flock of deer and the geometrical design mentioned above, occur only in this, thus making the painting rather more interesting and richer in details.

The figures may be grouped as follows:

I. *Human beings.*

The horse rider, almost invariably shown as standing on horse-back, holds in one of his hands, bow and arrow or spear or lance studded with spikes and the reins in the other. In two cases, the horse with its rider, is led with a long rope by another person. Another horse-rider is charging with his spike studded lance a tiger that is attacking one of the antelopes of the flock. While a horse-rider appears to shoot an arrow at another person, another standing on the horse-back, keeps his left hand on his waist.

(ii) Human beings in singles.

One of the standing human beings, holds a weapon such as axe with splayed out working edge, spear, in one of his hands or these weapons in both the hands. Another holds the rope tied to the mouth of a horse (with its rider standing on the back), and an arrow in the other hand. Similarly, there is another person with an axe having splayed out working edge in his right hand and a stick in vertical position and a rope tied to the mouth of an unidentified animal with elongated body and long neck held vertically straight, in the left.

In a group of three persons an attempt is crudely made to show three fingers, like thick projecting rays, of each hand of a person. The three persons are of larger size, one of them being shown with four fingers on the right hand, and spike studded lance held up horizontally, in the left.

(iii) Human beings in rows:

There are six rows of persons consisting of 2, 3, 5 and 7, the rows of three being three in number. In one row of three hand–in–hand, one of the extreme figures, is shown with three fingers. The central one is with rayed head–dress. All the persons of another row of seven, hand–in–hand, are with rayed head–dress. The extreme persons of another row of five, keep their hands on their waist. Beneath a row of three, a line is drawn probably to distinguish it from the others.

II. *Animals:*

Among the animals the bulls and cows are pre-dominant and concentrated in the north-west corner of the painted area. Hump is not invariably shown. In some cases whether it is a bull or cow is difficult to say, owing to the most general delineations. The male organ, sometimes with bulbar end, and the udder of some of the bulls and cows respectively are clearly shown. *The depiction of udder* of cows, is found only in this group of paintings. There are four cows whose udders also are shown. The pea-hen has an indistinct cocktail. The antelopes are realistic with their many branched horns.

Geometrical designs of rather obscure nature, are found in the western compartment of the rock paintings No. 2 and 3. That of the latter with incomplete and indistinct horse-rider, is more akin to that of No. 6.

III. *General characteristics of the paintings:*

1. The paintings are invariably executed in red ochre. However, the red ochre colour is not the same throughout. It appears to have been mixed with something else of vegetative matter as it is apparent from the dark-red colour of the nude man in the eastern compartment of No. 3 and from the apparently vegetative particles still adhering to the rough surface of the painted part of the rock.

The colour varies from reddish brown to dark-red or dark-pinkish.

2. The human and animal figures are either completely painted or stylized in lines. The latter category are a few and probably unfinished ones.

3. The individual figures either in groups or in singles, are shown in all sorts of directions. Also all the kinds of figures are interspersed at random.

4. The difference in the colours and the disorderly positions of the figures seem to suggest the execution of the paintings on different occasions. In the rock-painting No. 6 the colour of the paintings on the vertical face of the rear boulder is darkish pink resembling the red ochre paintings of the neolithic pottery, while that of the root is reddish brown and appears rather fresh. It may be argued that since the paintings on the rear boulder is more directly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather than that on the root, this variation in colour might have resulted. But a close observation of the other paintings in similar

situations would not support such surmise. On the other hand the disorderly positions and attitudes of the figures and the variations in colour, would suggest that the paintings, were not planned and executed in one and continuous stretch. They were painted, now and then, and in some part of the natural rock surface, not from one end to the other gradually, till the entire area was filled up. The duration of these periodical activities is not evident from the paintings.

5. Usually figures are within certain ranges of measurements. Occasionally they, especially the human figures attain large sizes.

6. Groups of dancers in which the persons at the extremities sometimes holding weapons; large number of horse-riders holding various types of weapons and cattle, are predominant.

7. Persons with rayed head-dress and peacock are found in these paintings of this locality only (see Note: 1 below).

8. Attempt to depict fingers in the case of human beings is indicating a step towards realistic art from stylization.

Implications and authorship:

Groups of dancers sometimes with weapons; horse-riders also with various kinds of weapons, including the one charging an arrow at the tiger which is preying upon an antelope seem to suggest that the paintings commemorate some *hunting ritual* of a horse-riding community who domesticated the cattle. The theme is in keeping with the fauna of the locality. Hire-Benkal area is wooded and hilly, infested with carnivorous animals like tigers, leopards, bears, till recently as the local people say and peacocks and deer which can occasionally be seen even today.

Allchin (1955, p. 99) associates "Large groups of hunters or warriors with horses....carrying metal weapons", with the builders of the megalithic burials in the site.

That these paintings were probably executed by the megalith builders appear to be correct in the light of the following observations.

1. Besides these nine paintings, there are rock-paintings discovered by me in the nearby localities. Chick-Ramapur, Anegondi and Venkatapur (IAR, 1961-62 and 1965-66: Explorations in Mysore State). The one in the hills of Chick-Ramapur is just on the periphery of a neolithic site with the grey-ware pottery of Maski fabric, neoliths and microliths.

No megalithic remains occur in this site. Near the rock-painting at Anegondi no site is noticed. The other one in Venkatapur commands the view of the remnant of an already known ash mound with the neolithic grey-ware pottery and the megalithic black-and-red ware pottery. I actually extracted from the mound a complete black-and-red ware vase with graffiti. From the rock-shelter with the painting No. 2 at Hire-Benkal I picked up a piece of typical platter of the neolithic grey-ware with red ochre painting at the edge. And in the plain fields is an ash mound (Munn, L: 1934, p. 122) and a neolithic habitation site noticed by me near it.

In these paintings and in the rock-paintings Nos. 5 and 7, in Hire-Benkal, the cattle, the humped bull being the most common, are predominantly depicted. The horse is conspicuously absent. So far, the neolithic cultural levels in this region, have not produced indisputable horse remains in considerable quantity. From these circumstantial evidences i.e., the situations and nature of the paintings and from the excavations in this region it appears that the neolithic people might be the authors of some of these paintings, found at Anegondi, Chick-Ramapur, Venkatapurs and Hire-Benkal and the Nos. 1, 3, 4 & 6 of Hire-Benkal *with horse-riders* certainly do not belong to the neolithic period.

2. The situations of the Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 6 in the midst of megalithic tombs or near them where neolithic remains suggesting regular habitation are not clearly evident.

3. Among the weapons, axes, spears, sword with serrated edges and the spike-studded lances, the last type (probably never represented in the sculptures or paintings from the early historical period onwards,) has been unearthed from one of the megalithic burials at Yeleswaram (Waheed Khan, 1963, plate VIII).

In respect of the horse-riders, two things are noteworthy; the way of depicting the reins of the horse, and overwhelming representations of the horse-riders in standing posture. The reins, as noted above, strangely enough, go over the head and never below the neck, from the mouth. At least from Asoka's times onwards the reins of the horse could reasonably be expected to have been painted realistically.

So far as this mode of depiction is concerned, there is comparable carving of a horse chariot on the slabs of an Early Bronze Age tomb at Kivik in South Sweden (Bibby, Geoffery: 1962, p. 59). In this

carving, the reins from the mouth of the two horses drawing the two spoke wheeled cart, are held by the person standing in the cart. The reins are shown going above the horses. This representation and the mode of holding the reins by the cart-men, are exactly the same as in the above rock-paintings.

Thus the representation appears to be too primitive to be of any period from Asoka's times onwards. Further, it appears that the artist was capable of showing separately or together a horse or human being in standing attitude, but not of a person seated on the horse-back. This also suggests very early and primitive mode of depiction.

Further, it is already mentioned above that the human figures of No. 5 with horns and tail is very closely similar in style and type to that of the Mohenjodaro seals on the one hand and to that of the copper anthropomorphic figure from Sheorampur, on the other. Thus these figures appear to be nearer in point of time and tradition to the similar executions of the proto-historic period.

From the above comparative analysis and discussion it is reasonable to ascribe the paintings of Hire-Benkal to two periods: neolithic and megalithic. While Nos. 2, 5 and 7 appear to belong to the former, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 and 10, to the latter.

In fine, the paintings also reflect some of the cultural aspects of the two cultures such as the fauna, the economical conditions, the hunting and the domestication, the rituals and the aesthetic sense of the two societies. Further the society of the megalithic tradition was economically superior and much more powerful by way of possessing the fast-moving animal, the horse and varied, sturdy and effective objects of defence and utility.

NOTES

1. So far, rock-paintings and bruisings are noticed in twelve localities in North Karnataka, including Hire-Benkal. The other localities are: Saaganakallu; Tekkalakota; Venkatapura; Anegondi; Chik-Rampur; Kallur; Piklihal; Balchakra; Badami; Tawargeri and Kullolli. In the last two are only the rock-bruisings.

Munn, L; 1934–35: *Annual Report of the old Hyderabad State Deptt. of Archaeology* (ARHAD); Appendix D.

Munn, L; 1935: "Prehistoric and Protohistoric finds of the Raichur and Shorapur Districts of H. E. the Nizam's Dominions", *Man in India*, Vol. 15, pp. 225-30.

Taylor, M; 1941: *Megalithic Tombs and other ancient remains in the Deccan*, Hyderabad.

Gordon D. H. 1955: and Allchin F.R. "Rock-paintings and engravings in Raichur, Hyderabad", *Man*, Vol. LV. pp. 95-97.

Lal, B.B.; 1951: "Furthei copper hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a review of the problem" Ancient India, 7, pp. 20-39.

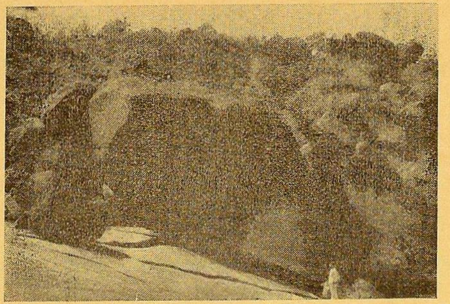
Marshall J; 1931: *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. III, London.

Waheed Khan Md, 1963: *Monograph on Yeleswaram Excavations.* Andhra Pradesh, Hydeıabad

Bibby Geoffery; 1962: *Four Thousand Years ago*, London & Glasgo.

IAR = Indian Aıchaeology, A Review.

Figure 1, is a copy of the tracing made by me of some of the figures of the paintings and thus partially represents the painting. Moreover it is subject to slight corrections. Plate 1, 3 and 4 are only some parts of the paintings on the root, of Rock-painting No. 6.



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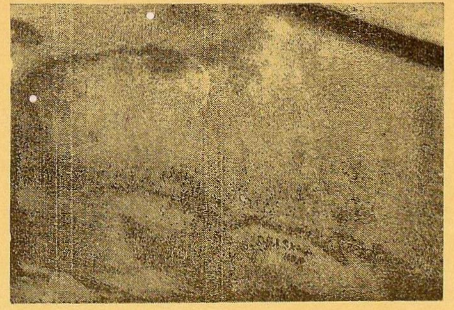

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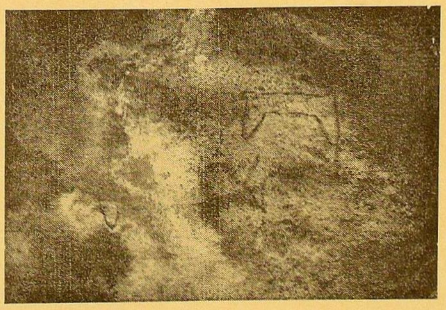
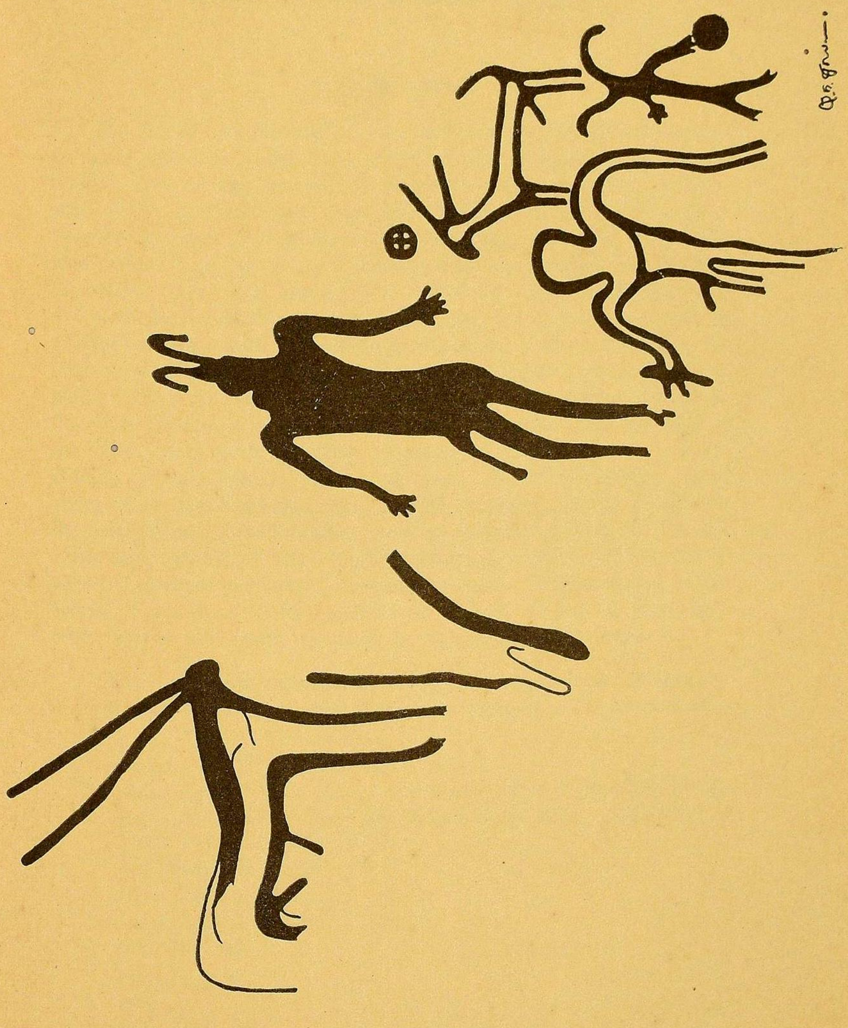


4

Hire Benkal: (1) The huge boulder with a cave at the bottom containing Rock–painting No. 5. (2) The Rock–painting No. 5: interior. The paintings of man with horns and tail and of the others are faintly visible (see fig. 1). (3) Rock–painting No. 6: peacock, row of dancing persons, horse–riders etc. (4) The same: another part showing antelopes etc.



Female Hairdos in Sanchi Sculpture

BY

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

The art of hair-dressing in ancient India was so developed that no such parallel is found even among the most modern cultures of today. This art was known as *keśavesha.*[1] The antiquity of hair-dressing can be traced back even from the time of the Vedas. Hair was the crowning glory of the Vedic women who wore it in long plaits. One maiden had four plaits (*chatuṣkapardā*) and another is described as having broad hair plaits (RV. x, 114.3).[2] Trijaṭā, an attendant to Sītā in Aśokavāṭikā, appears to have gained her name by wearing a triple coiffure. Still in northern India, at the time of marriage, the bride is adorned with seven braids which is called *paṭiyā* (paṭṭi i.e., plait). The word *kumbā*,[3] mentioned by Pāṇini, denotes according to the Vedic Index[4], a female adornment connected with the dressing of the hair. Amarakośa mentions a number of terms for the hair including *chikura, kuntaḷa, bāla, kaca, keśa, śirōruha*[5]. Further, many styles of coiffure have also been referred to therein, e. g., *kaiśikaṁ*,[6] the locks of hair (aḷakāḥ) falling over the forehead (lalāṭe) just like the black-bees (bhramarakāḥ); *kabarī*,[7] variegated braid of hair interwoven with the garlands of flowers; *dhammillā*[8], a mass of hair arranged in the centre of the head (śikhā cūḍā) and known as jaṭā if worn by a brahmacārin; and *veṇī*[9], tresses of the hair falling at the back.

Sāñchī sculpture represents the most striking fashion of hairdos. Female figures wear a number of stylistic coiffures. The bracket śāla-

1 Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV. 1. 42.

2 Mookerjee, R. K., *Hindu Civilization*, Part I (Bombay, 1963), Padmini Sengupta, *Everyday life in Ancient India*, p. 183 (Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 31.

3 *Aṣṭādhyāyī* III. 3. 106.

4 *Vedic Index* I. 163

5 *Amarakośa* II. 6. 95

6 *Ibid.*, II. 6. 96.

7 *Ibid.*, II. 6. 97.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Ibid., II. 6. 98.

bhañjikās on either side below[10], and the śālabhañjīka standing on the east and over the bottom architrave of the Northern Gateway[11], have been dressed in the most ornamental and richly bejewelled coiffures (see figures 1, 3 and 2). They wear double braids and above them are either the chains of gold and strings of pearls or garlands of flowers, coming from their forehead and hanging at their back. Pāṇini mentions a word *kabari*[12] which Dr. V. S. Agarwal takes for a special style of female coiffure[13]. The word, according to him, may have originated from the variegated appearance of the braid of hair interwoven with a garland of flowers. The śālabhañjikās referred to above, apparently wear the same style of coiffure (see figs. 1 and 3). The śālabhañjikā mentioned in the last, wears her combed hair, arranged and tied with a double-beaded string around the forehead. Besides her two knitted tresses (veṇīs), a tail of hair also hangs between her thighs at the back (see fig. 2).

Another style of coiffure is represented by the Gaja-Lakṣmī depicted in the middle of the top architrave of the Southern Gateway.[14] The back of hair in this style has been beautifully arranged in a conical shape projecting towards the right. A chain of round beads passes between the tresses of hair around the head (see fig. 4). The style may be identified with *dhammillā* mentioned in Amarakośa.[15]

The combed hair are peeping out of the cloth of beaded corner put on the head of a lady sculptured on the south and middle lintel of Western Gateway[16]. (see fig. 6.)

A peculiar hair style has been adopted by the north-end bracket śālabhañjikā of Eastern Gateway.[17] She combs her hair from left to right in a most attractive manner. At the back the ringlets of hair are arranged in such a way as if indicating the bob-cut hair style of

10 See Mashall & Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. 2, pl. XXV, (London & Calcutta, 1940).

11 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII.

12 *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV. 1. 42.

13 Agarwal, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, (Lucknow, 1953), p. 130.

14 See Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. XI.

15 *Amarakośa* II. 6. 97.

16 See Marshall & Foucher *op. cit.*, pl. LVIII.

17 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV.

today[18] (see fig. 5). A peacock plum-like projection of the cloth tied with a twisted thread adds to the beauty of its wearer. The projected cloth has many folds or creases which apparently indicates it to be highly starched (see fig. 5b). This fan-shaped projection is also seen in the head-dress of the figures depicted on the right pillar of Eastern Gateway.[19] In this style the lock of hair has been tied with a lace of silken cloth over the head. The projection was also made of different shapes, sometimes conical just like a fly-whisk (see fig. 10) and sometimes round like a flower (see fig. 12.)

This extremely charming and glorious projection reminds us about the fan-shaped hairdos of the Harappan figurines. This style may be identified with the ancient Indian hairdress called *śekharaka.* These *śekharakas* were made with the leaves of jaṭāmānsī or with the tri-coloured pieces of the silken cloth. Sometimes these were exported to the foreign countries, even to Rome.[20] These *śekharakas* have been called in the Mahāvastu (II, p. 463) as *gandhamukuṭa*, the scented crown[21]. These were sold by the garland makers (*mālākāras*). *Śekharā-pīṭhayojana* according to Kāmasūtra, was one of the sixty-four fine arts.[22] The use of *śekharaka* as a hair-dress (*śirobhūṣā*) was also in practice in the time of Harṣa. Bāṇa, while dealing with the costume of the king in Harṣacarita, refers to chhatra-like *śekhara* made of pea-cock feathers and flowers with humming black-bees.[23] The continuity of the use of the *śehkaraka* even upto the later period is attested from its mention in Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjari.[24]

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18 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVIII.

19 *Ibid.*, pl. L.

20 Dr. Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, (Patna, 1953) p. 127. The fan-shaped head dress of the Harappan figurines, according to Dr. V. S. Agarwal, is the *Opaśa* of the Vedas (*Bhāratīya Kalā*, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 30–31, figs. 20 and 21) which, according to the writers of the Vedic Index, probably means a plait as used in dressing the hair, specially of women, but apparently in earlier times of men also.

21 Dr. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

22 Shukla, D. N., *Bhāratīya Vāstuśāstra*, (Lucknow, 1955), p. 133

23 Agarwal, V. S., *Harshacharita: Eka Sāṁskṛitika adhyayana*, (Patna, 1955). p. 155

24 Second edition, pp. 113–141 (Bombay, 1938) vide, Dr. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

Another hair style, generally represented on the figures of the stupa 2, consists of a long and conical lock of hair just like the most modern coiffures of today. Sometimes a ring, either of a silken cloth or garland was kept round the hair (see fig. 7). A butterfly-shaped arrangement of the cloth, most probably the silken, was sometimes attached to the ring in front (see fig. 8). This securing of the lock of hair was also done by a chain of gold, *swarṇapaṭṭika*[25] and the garland together (see fig. 9). A lady executed on the pillar no. 71 of the ground balustrade of the stupa 2 [26], wears a long and conical hairdress which is decorated with a long lace studded with the gems (*ratna-paṭṭikā*) and wrapped round the head in the manner of the turban (see fig. 13).

A scarf was also wrapped round the head making a cross in the front. The core of the scarf was sometimes decorated with a line of lockets. A standing female figure on the Northern Gateway pillar of the stupa 2, wraps her conical lock of hair with a piece of cloth, most probably the silken, making a cross over her forehead (see fig. 14) This style of hair-dressing has been called by Aśvaghōṣa as *śuklāni-śuka-aṭṭālaka*.[27]

The left pillar of the Northern Gateway of the Great stupa,[28] depicts in its inner face a Bodhi tree being worshipped by four females who wear long plaited hair.

Except a few, no female figure at Sāñchī has been depicted bare-headed. A panel on the left pilllar of the Southern Gateway in its inner face depicts a king with his two flanking queens.[29] These queens have combed their hair in an ordinary manner and formed the *veṇīs* (see fig. 15). A sitting female attendant in the same panel also wears a very dense coiffure round her face (see fig. 16). The face of the Gaja-Lakṣmī, executed on a pillar of the stupa 2 [30], is also surrounded by her curly hair (see fig. 17).

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25 c.f. *Sovaṇṇopaṭṭo, Mahāvaṁśa*, XXIII. 38 vide, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian Architectural Terms*, JAOS, Vol. 48, No. 3, pp. 250–275.

26 See Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit*, Vol. 3, pl. LXXXVII.

27 *Saundarananda*. VII. 7.

28 See Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pl. XXXV b.

29 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII b.

30 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pl. LXXXVIII.

Only two illustrations of the parting line are to be seen in Sāñchī sculpture. A female figure in the middle of a pillar of the stupa 2 stands on a lotus and is surrounded by the lotus stalk.[31] She is flanked by two dwarf attendants. She has combed her hair and parted them not in the centre, but on her right side. Her loose hair is apparently hanging down at her back (see fig. 19). Another illustration is afforded by a śālabhañjikā on the bottom architrave of the Northern Gateway[32] whose hair are combed in such a way that the parting line is seen on her left side (see fig. 18). It shows that no rigidity was observed in keeping the parting line (*sīmanta*). It might be left at any side.

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31 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXVIII.

32 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pl. XXVII.

PLATE I

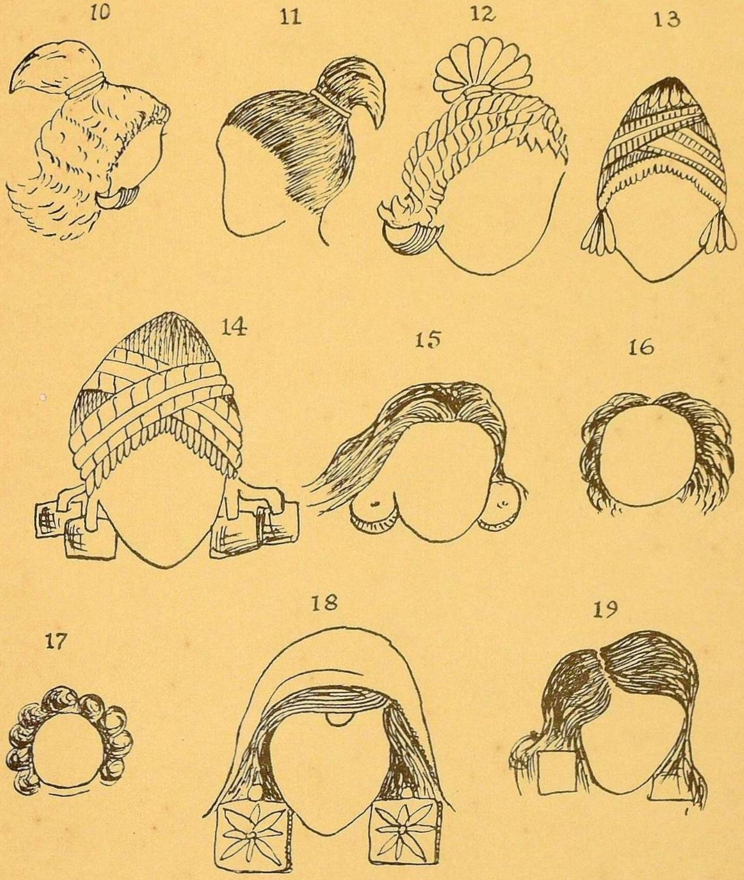

PLATE II

Status of the Rathakāra in Early Indian History

BY

VIVEKANAND JHA (DELHI)

The term *rathakāra* literally means the chariot-maker, but unlike *ratha*, which frequently occurs in the *Ṛgveda*,[1] is not mentioned there. The existence of the chariot-maker in the period, however, cannot be denied. The wheelright's was, in fact, among the most important arts and crafts of the time,[2] as war formed the chief preoccupation of the Ṛgvedic Aryans and chariots played a vital role in it. Evidently, the chariot-maker was an honourable member of the *viś* and stood fairly high in the Vedic hierarchy.[3] *Taṣṭā* in the *Ṛgveda*[4] may have signified both a carpenter and a chariot-maker.[5]

Rathakāra is a frequently used term in the later Vedic texts,[6] which give us an idea of his importance in the polity of the age as well as of

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1 1. 20. 3, iii. 15. 5, iv. 10, etc.

2 R. S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy* (Bombay, 1966), p. 56; cf. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* (London, 1954), P. 145; D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (London, 1965), p. 80. The horse hitched to the fast Aryan chariot, thinks Kosambi, first gained its military importance with the historical Aryan groups, particulary among the Kassites, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay, 1956), p. 77. It was a potent cause of the military success of the Aryans against their opponents in India, *Light*, p. 54.

3 Louis Renou, *The Civilization of Ancient India* tr. from French by Philip Spratt, 2nd edn. (Calcutta, 1959), p. 49.

4 i. 64.4, vii. 32.20, ix.112.1, x.119.5, etc. *Tvaṣṭrā*, mentioned 65 tims in the *Rgveda* (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 119) is the architect of the gods.

5 P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, ii, pt. i (Poona, 1941), 43.

6 The later Vedic chariots were about the same as before. *An Introduction*, p. 91. Although the horse had begun to be ridden in war, the traditional chariot remained the more aristocratic method, *Ibid*. p. 131. Among rich gifts claimed to have been received by the Yajurvedic and later Brāhmaṇas from legendary ancient kings were chariots. *The Culture*, p. 104.

his ritual status. The *Atharvaveda*[7] shows a newly elected king praying to a plant amulet (*parṇa maṇi*) for help in strengthening his position among the skilful builders of chariots. Almost simultaneously, the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*[8] of the *Black Yajurvēda*, mentions the Rathakāra among the high functionaries of the state called *ratnins*, whose houses the king visited on the occasion of the *rājasūya* sacrifice to perform the ceremony of offering jewels to various gods. Even the relatively late *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[9] requires the horse and its guardians in the *aśvamedha* sacrifice to relax at the house of the Rathakāra.

It is not easy to determine the varṇa status of the Rathakāra in the Vedic period. The formal reverence shown to the Rathakāras in the *śatarudriya* litany of the *Yajus Saṁhitās*[10] and his appearance in the list of victims at the *puruṣamedha*[11] do not help, for he is classed with all sorts of people, high and low, in these texts. The process of his separation from the general Vaiśya community is first taken note of in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*[12], which lays down rules for the consecration of sacrificial fire by the first three varṇas and the Rathakāra. The Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya are to perform this rite in the spring, summer and autumn seasons respectively, and the Rathakāra in the rainy season. Even the *mantra* (sacred formula) for recitation by him on the occasion is prescribed: it is *ṛbhūṇāmtvā*. Ṛbhus, as Macdonell and Keith[13] explain, are the chariot-makers *par excellence*. The *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*[14] has a similar provision. The *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Sūtra*[15] of Jaimini considers the Rathakāra to be a member o

7 *ye dhīvāno rathakārāḥ karmārā ye manīsiṇaḥ, upastīva parṇa mahyam tvam sarvān kṛṇvabhito janān*, iii. 5. 6.

8 ....*takṣarathakārayorgṛhe;* cf. *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, xviii. 10. 17; *Satyāṣaḍha Śrautasūtra*, xiii. 4. 8.

9 xiii. 4. 2. 17; cf. *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, xx. 5. 18; *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, xx. 55; *Satyāṣāḍha Śrautasūtra*, xiii. 1. 47.

10 *namaḥ....rathakārebhyaśca....Taittirīya Samhitā*, iv. 5.4.2; cf. *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, ii. 9.5; *Kāṭhaka Samhitā*, xvii. 13; *Kapisthala Samhitā*, xxviii; *Kāṇva Samhitā*, xvii. 4; *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, xvi. 27.

11 *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, xxx. 6; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, iii. 4.2.1.

12 i. 1.4.8.

13 *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, ii (3rd Reprint, Delhi 1967), 204.

14 v. 11.7; cf. *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, i. 1.9–10; *Satyāṣādha, Śrautasūtra*, iii. 1; *Vārāha Śrautasūtra*, i, 1.1.4.

15 *vacanādrathakārasyādhānésya sarvaśesatvāt*, vi. 1.44.

a caste other than the three varṇas, who has this right on account of the express *śruti* injunction to the effect. It identifies[16] the Rathakāras as a caste called Saudhanvanas, which is neither Śūdra nor one of the three higher ones, but is slightly inferior to the three higher varṇas. Kane[17] aptly speaks of the Rathakāra as an intermediate caste before the close of the Vedic period. That the Rathakāra is far from being degraded to the level of the Śūdra is evident from the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*[18], one of the earliest Gṛhyasūtras synchronizing with the early Śrautasūtras,[19] which prescribes for him the right to *upanayana* (investiture with sacred thread), a much greater privilege than the *agnyādhāna* (consecration of sacrificial fire). Viśvarūpa, the ninth-century commentator of the *Yājñ.valkyasmṛti*, finds this extraordinary and explains this as owing to a confused identification of the two rites.[20]

It is surprising that the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, which first speaks of the Rathakāras as a mixed caste deriving its origin from Vaiśya-Śūdrā parents[15], apparently reckons them among the twice-born.[21] They are placed in this work on a par with the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas from whom a *snātaka* (generally a Brāhmaṇa and invariably a twice-born) may beg uncooked food.[22] Baudhāyana[23], no doubt, maintains that if a male of one varṇa marries the woman of a varṇa just below it, the progeny belongs to the varṇa of the father. Elaborating further, he states[24] that the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kṣatriya wife is as much a *savarṇa* and a Brāhmaṇa as a son begotten from a *savarṇa* wife. But the Rathakāra hardly stands to gain from these provisions, as Baudhāyana[25] explicitly holds that

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16 *saudhavamāstu hīnatvānmantravarṇātpratīyeran*, vi. 1.50.

17 *History of Dharmaśāstra*, ii. pt. i, 48. V. M. Apte is hardly justified in thinking the Rathakāra to be a Śūdra "Social and Economic conditions", *The Vedic Age*, ed. R C. Majumdar and others (Bombay, 1951), p. 455.

18 ii. 5. 6; cf. *Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra* i. 1.

19 R. S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1958), p. 69.

20 *yattu smṛtyāntare rathakārasyopanayanasmaraṇam tadādhānādi-kṛtatvād bhrāntérityavaseyam*, Visvarūpa on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, i. 10.

21 *vaiśyācchūdrāyām rathakārah*, i. 9. 17. 6.

22 Bühler's Introduction to *Sacred Books of the East* (tr.), xiv (Oxford, 1882), xxxviii.

23 i. 3. 5. 9.

24 i. 8. 16. 9.

25 i. 9. 17. 3.

begetting a son on a Śūdra woman is a great sin (*mahāpātaka*) causing loss of caste. With his supposed Śūdra mother in this lawgiver's theory, the Rathakāra could not, logically claim his father's Vaiśya status. If, on the other hand, Hutton's hypothesis[26] is taken as valid, being descended from a patrilineal father and a matrilineal mother, the Rathakāra would still have some status and kinship with both. The position is unmistakably ambiguous. The degradation of the artisan classes to the level of the Śūdras was, however, no longer a distant prospect, and the relative freedom of the Brāhmaṇa caste from manual tasks might have aggravated its pride in itself and coloured its vision towards castes engaged in crafts requiring physical toil and skill.

Kauṭilya mentions the Rathakāra in the list of mixed castes without assigning him any particular origin. He, however, not only provides for the share of a Rathakāra son in inheritance from well-to-do parents,[27] but also designates him a Vaiśya through profession.[28] The lawgiver is, thus, not only keen to emphasize the difference of the Rathakāra from the Caṇḍāla but also from those mixed castes which are thought to be of the Śūdra level.[29] A firm believer in the policy of territorial expansion through wars, Kauṭilya could not but put a premium on the craft of the Rathakāra.[30]

Precisely for this reason[31] is the Rathakāra among the most

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26 S. C. Banerji, *Dharmasūtras : A study in their Origin and Development*, (Calcutta, 1962), p. 97.

27 *Caste in India : Its Nature, Function and Origins*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 1963), pp. 150-1.

28 . . . .*rathakārāṇām aiśvaryato vibhāga*, iii. 6. 14.

29 *karmaṇā vaiśyo rathakāraḥ*, iii. 7. 35. R. P. Kangle follows the *Bhāṣāvyākhyāna* a commentary in Tamil-Malayalam, to substitute *Vaiśya* for *vaṇiya* (*The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, pt. ii, 2nd edn., University of Bombay, 1972. p. 215 fn.), and maintains that the vocations of the Vaiṇya and the Rathakāra are different.

30 iii. 7. 37.

31 The evidence of Megasthenes proves that chariots were maintained at considerable strength in the Mauryan empire. The *Arthaśāstra* distinguishes battle chariots (*sāmgrāmika*), chariots used in assailing an enemy's strongholds (*parapurābhiyānika*) and training chariots (*vainayika*) from chariots of goods (*devaratha*,) festal chariots (*puśyaratha*) and travelling chariots (*pāriyānika*) ii. 33.5. While Megasthenes refers to one of the six boards in Candragupta's war office as entrusted with supervising this branch, according to Kauṭilya the officer in charge of the chariot corps (*rathamukhya*) is to draw a salary of 3,000 *paṇas* (v. 3. 9) and the superintendent of chariots (*rathādhyakṣa*) a salary of 4,000 *paṇas* (v. 3. 11.)

thoroughly tabooed and despised sections of people in the Buddhist texts, rebirth in which is a punishment. He is enumerated along with the Caṇḍāla, the Niṣāda, the Pukkusa and the Veṇa as a low caste outside the four varṇas.[32] Richard Fick[33] suggests that the Rathakāras were an aboriginal tribe. Rhys Davids[34] and R. N. Mehta[35] are inclined to agree. As Fick[36] asserts, not a bias against handicraft in general but against a profession which they found was followed by low races originally made the Aryans avoid such means of earning a livelihood and leave them to the aboriginal races. Historically, the statement is most unwarranted in so far as the professional caste of the Rathakāra is concerned. As compared with the ordinary freemen, the Rathakāras may have lost in status in the later Vedic age through their devotion to a mechanical art, as Keith[37] supposes, but that does not make them aborigines. Also, the profession itself was not then or later tabooed by the non-Buddhist sources to the extent it is found in Pali works. At the most, the profession may have been adopted by some aborigines as well who swelled the ranks of the Rathakāras. A. N. Bose[38] attributes the decline in the social status of the Rathakāra to his taking to a less reputable craft in the Gangetic plains, that of leather-working. The evidence he adduces in support of this hypothesis is restricted to two late Jātakas, and two commentaries. *Rathakāro vā cammassa parikantam upāhanam;*[39] *rathakāro vā parlkantam upāhanam*[40] read the Jātaka texts, meaning, just as the Rathakāra cuts the shoe according to the skin. In the first, the commentary explains *rathakāra*

32 cf. *Śūdras*, p. 219.

33 *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, 152; iii, 169–70: *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, ii 85, iii, 385; *Samyutta Nikāya*, i, 93: *Vinaya Piṭaka*, iv, 9–12; *Suttavibhaṅga Pācittya*, ii, 2. 1; *Jātaka*, vi, 142.

34 *Die Sociale Gliederung in Nordostlichan Indien zu Buddha Ziet* (Keil, 1887), English Translation from German by S. Maitra, *The Social Organisation in North-East India in Budhha's Time*, (University of Calcutta, 1920), pp. 324–6.

35 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. i (London, 1899), p. 100.

36 *Pre-Buddhist India*, (Bombay, 1939), pp. 264–5.

37 *op. cit.*, p. 325.

38 *The Cambridge History of India*, i, ed. E. J. Rapson. Ist Indian Reprint (Delhi 1955), 112.

39 *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, ii, 2nd edn. (Calcutta, 1967), 237.

40 *Jātaka*, iv, 172.

as *cammakāra*. The commentary to the *Petavatthu*[41] also explains *rathakārin* as *cammakārin*. The craft of the leather worker (*cammakāra-sippam*) is no doubt regarded as low in the early Buddhist texts,[42] but unlike the Rathakāra, the Cammakāra does not figure in the list of despised castes. Further, although the profession may eventually have crystallized into a caste, it is neither tantamount to a disappearance of the Rathakāras nor to their loss of identity in the Cāmmakāra. Indeed, both are mentioned side by side in the *Milindapañha*[43], and the references to the use of chariots in the epics are copious[44]. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, a Jain text, mentions a Rathakāra as one of the four jewels of a certain king[45] and refers to an aerial car (*garuḍa*) having been built by a Rathakāra.[46] The war-chariots are mentioned in the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150)[47], the Daulatpur Plate of Bhōjādēva I (A. D. 706)[48] and the Samnad Copper-plate grant of Dantidurga or Dantivarma II (A. D. 753-4.)[49] The official caves at the Nanaghat pass, 30 kilometres west of Junnar, bear witness to the gifts of chariots by the Sātavāhana kings as sacrificial fees to the Brāhmanas.[50] As A. N. Bose[51] himself admits, certainly there was no complete overlapping of the two crafts in the same caste. Presumably the economic lot of the Rathakāra was also not as hard as is made out in the Buddhist texts[52], though with decreasing use of chariots in war after Alexander[53] the

41 *Jātaka*, vi, 51.
42 iii. 1. 13.
43 *Suttavibhaṅga Pācittiya*, ii. 2. 1: *Vinaya Piṭaka*, iv. 7.
44 p. 331.
45 P. C. Chakravarti, *The Art of War in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 22-3.
46 ii, 59, cited by J. C. Jain. *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons* (Bombay, 1947). p. 101.
47 *Ibid.*, p. 541, cited Ibid.
48 *Epigraphia Indica*, viii, 48, cited by P.C.Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 25.
49 *Ibid.*, v. 211, cited *Ibid.*, p. 26.
50 *Indian Antiquary*, xi, 108; 140, *cited* Ibid.
51 *The Culture*, p. 184.
52 *op. cit.*, p. 237.
53 *Majihima Nikāya*, iii. 169-70; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, ii. 85. B. P. Majumdar cites an inscription from Sanderav (Jodhpur) dated V. S. 1221 (*Epigraphia Indica*, xi, 47) depicting the Rathakāras of Sanderaka as donors of a piece of land, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India 1030-1194 A. D.* (Calcutta, 1960) p. 110. An inscription from Ālanguḍi records the levy of a voluntary impost by the Rathakāras on themselves for some purpose that is not clear from the damaged condition of the record, K. A. N. Sastri *The Cōḷas*, 2nd edn. (University of Madras, 1955), p. 527.

craft might not have remained as lucrative as before. Indeed, the whole treatment of the Rathakāra in Pali sources suffers from an element of unreality and is an example of how theoretical bias of even non-Brāhmaṇa texts may, without due appreciation, lead to wrong conclusions about the identity of the untouchables in ancient India.

There is a remarkably long interlude between Baudhāyana and Yājñvalkya in which the Brāhmaṇa lawgivers do not treat the Rathakāra as a mixed caste. Especially striking is the silence of the *Manusmṛti* in this respect. The *Yājñvalkyasmṛti*[54] speaks of the Rathakāra as an offspring of a Māhiṣya male (son of a Kṣatriya from a Vaiśya woman) and a Karaṇa (issue of a Vaiśya and a Śūdra woman.) Even so, the *Mitākṣarā*[55] considers him entitled to *upanayana*. In support of his contention, Vijñāneśvara quotes the authority of Śaṅkha,[56] according to whom the Rathakāra is to be invested with the sacred thread and allowed to offer sacrifices and gifts and to subsist by learning the art of taming horses, making chariots and building houses. It is strange that the 12th–century commentator allows the Rathakāra this sacrament without denying Śūdra blood in this veins. Perhaps he was doing so in deference to the *śruti* injunction, to which some lawgivers had earlier paid lip service The *Amarakośa*, however, lists the Rathakāra in the *Śūdravarga*.[57] Uśanas[58] and Vaikhānasa[59] think likewise.

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54 *The Culture*, p. 135; cf. *An Introduction*, p. 278. According to B. K. Majumdar, the use of chariots on a large scale fell " into the background since the time of Harṣa," *The Military System in Ancient India*, 2nd edn. (Calcutta, 1960), p. 136.

55 i. 95.

56 *tasya copanayanādi sarvam kāryam*, comm. on Ibid.

57 *kṣatriyavaiśyānulomānantarotpanno yo rathakārastasvejyādānopanayanasamskārakryiā aśvapratiṣṭhārathasūtravāstvidhyādhyayanavṛttltā ca.* Architecture, building of coaches and chariots, the erection of *gopuras* with icons on them and of *maṇḍapas*, the manufacture of sacrificial instrument, etc., were laid down as the occupations of the Rathakāras by the Bhaṭṭas of Rājāśraya–caturvedimangalam towards the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (A. D. 1070–1120), (K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 549. Sastri quotes an inscription dated 1169 to show that the Rathakāras included blacksmiths, goldsmiths and stone masons besides carpenters, *Ibid.*)

58 ii. 10.4, 9.

59 *brāhmaṇyām kṣatriyāccauryādrathakāraḥ prajāyate, vṛttam ca Śūdravattasya dvijatvam pratiṣidhyate*, verse 5.

Assigning the Rathakāra a *pratilōma* origin from a clandestine union between the Kṣatriya male and a Brāhmaṇa women, they deny him the right to repeat Vedic *mantras* and demand that he should behave like a Śūdra. Presumably they consider this more in keeping with their profession of driving horses and carts[60]. Nonetheless, the Rathakāra is nowhere to be found in the list of medieval *antyajas*, and despite a long-drawn controversy among Brāhmaṇa theorists as to whether he was a Vaiśya entitled to the sacrament of initiation or a Śūdra, he always remained far above the level of untouchables and was never condemned as in the Buddhist texts.

A few inscriptions from the Deccan and South India suggest that facts of life were even more favourable to the Rathakāras than the priestly theory. A Śālaṅkāyana record[61] from Andhra Pradesh registers the grant of a village as *rathakāra agrahāra* to the *caturvidya* community of the Rathakāra caste. The grantees were capable of cursing and conferring boons and were engaged in meditation and in the study of the Vedas ordained for various *gotras* and *caraṇas* of the members of the Rathakāra caste[62]. Manifestly, their position was no less respectable than that of the Brāhmaṇas. To this day there exists in the districts of Krishna, Gunter, West Godavari and East Godavari a class of Viśva Brāhmaṇas who call themselves Rathakāras.[63] The orthodox among them study the Vedas and regard themselves as even superior to the Brāhmanas[64]. These social realities are reminiscent of hazy Ṛgvedic times, when there was no caste differentiation within the tribe. Since there is no evidence of the forbears of the modern Rathakāras in peninsular and South India being in a depressing state, may be, an awareness

60 x. 13.

61 As Uśanas explicitly holds, *yānānām ye ca voḍhārasteṣām ca paricārakāḥ. śudravṛttyā tu jīvanti na kṣātram dharmamācaret*, verse 7.

62 *aggahāra rathakāra vidhānena sampadatto*, *Epigraphia Indica*, xxxi, no. 1, II. 7-8, cited by R. N. Nandi, "Social and Religious Developments in the Deccan *circa* A. D. 600–1000" (Patna University thesis, 1969), p. 114.

63 *sopanuggaha samatthassa nānā gotta caraṇa tapas sajjhāya niratassa*, *Ibid.*, 11. 10-2, cited *Ibid.*

64 Cited *Ibid.*, p. 115.

65 *Ibid.*, cf. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient India*, i (Society), (Calcutta, 1967), 115.

of this mellowed the Dharmaśāstra writers and they adopted less stringent views than they did regarding other artisan classes. Or is it that the increasingly ritual role of chariots in royal and religious processions[66] imbued the Rathakāras with a special sanctity? Conversely, these favourably-placed Rathakāras may have drawn strength from some ancient Vedic texts.

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66 The representations of old Indian chariots appear on the Sanchi bas-reliefs and show these being used for religious purposes, R. K. Mookerji, *Candragupta Maurya and His Times*, 2nd edn. (Delhi, 1960), pp. 175-6. The images of Jaina Tīrthamkaras were taken in processions on the occasion of the *rathayātrās* in Rajasthan, *Epigraphia Indica*, xi, 41. The car festival of Lord Jagannātha at Puri is still famous throughout the country. According to D. C. Sircar, the Gaṅga rulers introduced this popular south Indian practice at Puri from where it spread to other Vaiṣṇava temples in eastern India, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, (Delhi, 1972), pp. 59 fn., 199 fn.

C^{14} Dates, N. B. P. Ware and Early Historical Archaeology of Peninsular India

BY

I. KARTHIKEYA SARMA

The value of C^{14} dating for archaeological horizons has became manifold, more so in a country like ours whose ancient remains are of wide extent and of varied nature. In recent years, the field archaeo, logists have been relying more on this independent means of dating· which has almost revolutionised the order of the chronological framework, thanks to Dr. Agrawala and his colleagues at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay.[1] As a result, some remarkable progress is made in Indian archaeological studies pertaining to pre- and proto-historic periods. The aim of this paper is to focus the attention of scholars to the C^{14} dates of some early historical sites yielding the famous N. B. P. ware in India, with special stress on the historical archaeology of the Southern peninsula.[2]

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1 D. P. Agrawala, *The Copper Bronze Age in India*, (New Delhi, 1971) pp. 58 64, 90–108.

Ab initio, I prefer to caution the archaeologists on certain procedures of feeding samples for C–14 dating laboratories. Apart from the care in collecting the samples, wherever possible, the excavators should collect more number of samples from one and the same stratum and submit independently to two different laboratories at a time. The dating can thus be cross-checked. Also when samples were sent to the excavators or even collected by the personnel of the laboratories themselves, I feel certain details like—archaeological interest, primary or secondary; importance of dating based on archaeological evidence; stratigraphic sketch, etc. (in fact the entire Sheet—3), are superfluous and need not be furnished. These two suggestions of mine, if adopted, would make the C^{14} dating method an unassailable scientific aid free from the subjective interpretations of the field archaeologist.

2 Early Historical sites need a definite attention in this regard. It is gratifying that Dr. Agrawala of TIFR is taking keen interest in this respect also. But the archaeological planning in India is not problem-oriented, more so, with regard to the South. If a closer strata-wise C^{14} date-list can be worked out for at least

Some aspects of N. B. P. dating and distribution

Basing on the abundance of the ware and the very early C^{14} dates now available, the N.B.P. sites have been classified under two groups.[3]

1. *Primary Sites:* with an eastern epi-centre in Bihar, i.e., ancient Magadha region. They are- Tilaurkot, Banjarahi in Nepal-Tarai region; Śrāvasti, Vaiśāli, Rājgir, Sōṇpur and Chirand.

2. *Second centres:* Rupar, Hastinapur, Atranikhera-Ahicchatra; Rājghat-Kauśāmbī; Ujjain-Kāyatha; Besnagar and Eran. We now add unhesitatingly to this list, sites such as Pauni in Vidarbha[4], Amarāvatī-Dharaṇikoṭa[5] on the one hand, and Taxila[6] Charsada[7] on the other. In all the above sites the emergence of the ware was clearly assigned to a pre-Mauryan date, in some cases even as early as 550

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a few historical cities—where reliable correlative numismatic and epigraphical material is also available, it would solve great many vexed problems of chronology in historical periods—particularly dynastic histories. Southern sites like Dharaṇikōṭa. Pratishṭhāna-Nevasa, Banavāsi and the like, deserve immediate consideration.

3 Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87. Also Sachidanand Sahay, in B. P Sinha, ed. *Potteries in Ancient India* (Patna, 1969), pp. 146-154.

4 S. B. Deo, and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavations*, 1969-70, (Nagpur, 1972), pp. 59-62.

5 *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59, *A Review*, p. 5 (=*IAR*). *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 3; 1963-64, p. 2, fig. 1; 1964-65, pp. 2-3; 1965-66, p. V-1 (cyclostyled). Strangely the reviews do not refer to the NBP as a find in Period I. But the author has personally seen the collections, now with the excavator Shri K. Raghavachary of the Excavations of the Archaeological Survey, whose report is press-ready. I am thankful to Shri Raghavachary for allowing me to study the collections.

6 B. B. in *Antiquity*, XXXIV, no. 135, (Sept. 1960); pp. 224-27; It is of great significance to note that majority of the NBP sherds (80%) occurred in the pre-Alexandrian levels in Bhir mound, Taxila. Also K. K. Sinha, in *Potteries in Ancient India* (Patna, 1969), pp. 174-82.

7 Mortimer Wheeler, *Charsada — A Metropolis of North-West Frontier* (1962), pp. 41-45.

B. C. Its long survival upto 100 B. C. is also attested in majority of the sites. I have, therefore, ruled out the possibility of linking the N. B. P. spread with the expansion of the Mauryan empire even though Thapar has once again tried to justify vaguely[8] Wheeler's dating. "The ware had its roots in the formative period and traded wherever the Mauryan influence was felt. Thus its extension in the peripheral areas in western, eastern and southern India, may, perhaps, coincide with the expansion of the organized Mauryan empire." This view has no basis now as in the heart of the Mauryan[9] empire itself the ware has become insignificant during this ' organized Mauryan ' period and was found in meagre quantities and comparatively poorer in fabric also. Adding to this, the C^{14} dates of the peripheral sites like Kayatha, and Ujjain, Besnagar–Eran have confirmed that this ware emerged as early as 5th century B. C.[10] The ware with its eastern bias and epicentre in Bihar spread, according to Agrawala, "much earlier, either along with early Buddhism or with iron trade and technology." (In yet another place he suggested that " N. B. P. spread is associated with the diffusion of iron trade and technology from Bihar".[11] I prefer to go a step ahead. As a result of an extensive iron technology, the arid zones of the north were getting urbanized swiftly and the result was the emergence of the 16–Mahājanapadas by about 6th century B. C. It is interesting and rather important to note here that Asmāka and Kaliṅga are included among the minor kingdoms of this period. N. B. P. is invariably associated with the earliest phase in most of the capital cities of these Mahājanapadas, wherefrom again great religious faiths like Buddhism and Jainism sprang up. We are, therefore, quite within the bounds of the evidence when *we link up this deluxe ware with the consolidation of the first urbanisation of the Ganga–Yamuna doab.* Its expansion towards north–west, east and south may be due to extensive trade– a resultant factor of this urbanization as well as early Buddhism and Jainism, as these religious creeds were nourished mainly by the tradesmen.

8 I. K. Sarma, in Deo and Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

9 *Ancient India*, nos. 20-21 (New Delhi, 1967), p. 74.

10 A. S. Altekar and V. N. Mishra, *Report on the Excavations at Kumrahar* (Patna, 1960), pp. 74-76.

11 *Kayatha; Radio Carbon*, X (1968), p. 134. TF-394—430 B.C. *IAR*, 1967-68, p. 70: TF-674; 470 ± 100 B.C.
UJJAIN: IAR, 1967-68, p. 70: TF-409: 450 ± 95 B. C. Also *Current Science*, 38, no. 11 (June 5, 1969).
Besnagar: Radio Carbon, (1968), p. 132. TF-387: 470 ± 105 B.C.: *Current Science*, 35, p 586; 34, no. 13, p. 5.

A pertinent question would be how about Peninsular India during the period? If the advent of iron technology leads to urbanization of the north, I suppose that the Southern Peninsula did not also lag an inch behind. It is only a matter of chance that archaeologically the areas covered by the Ganga–Yamuna and Narmada regions were well worked up in recent years. As Agrawala has pointed out, there is a "distinct possibility of the iron age in the south ante-dating that of the north"[12], and Hallur[13] and Paiyampalli C^{14} dates for iron age levels amply confirm this view-point.

Pauni, Amarāvatī and Dharaṇikōṭa evidences;

It is quite logical to suppose that sites like Pauni and Kauṇḍīnyapura, by virtue of their location, south of Vindhyas, may have received the N. B. P. ware, somewhat later than the Gangetic and Vindhyan sites. But how much later remains to be explained.

While dating Pauni, an early Buddhist establishment in Vidarbha, the main excavators reluctantly put the earliest period to 4th—3rd cent. B. C., though a still earlier date was proposed by me in view of unique painted N. B. P. sherds from a pre-stupa level.[14] It is unfortunate that Pauni has not been dated by C^{14}. However, it is to be noted that painted variants have not been reported from the sites outside the Ganga–Yamuna doab.

The answer can also be had from some South-eastern sites yielding N. B. P. They are Amarāvatī and its adjacent capital city Dharaṇikōṭa, the famous Dhānyakaṭaka. At both these places, N. B. P. was profusely encountered from the earliest strata of Period–I, below the great Mahāstūpa[15], and as well at the earliest levels of Dharaṇikōṭa. Fortunately, the latter site has the following C^{14} dates.[16]

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12 Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 and 244.

13 M. S. Nagaraja Rao, *Proto-historic Cultures of the Tungabhadra Valley*, (1971) p. 15. *Paiyampalli:* TF-823: 640 B.C. *IAR* 1968-69, p. 73.

14 Deo and Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

15 *IAR*, 1958-59, p. 5. H. Sarkar's Trial dig at Kesanapalli near Vijayawada, yielded an N.B.P. sherd from the mid-level of the Megalithic occupation: cf. H. Sarkar, "Megalithic Monuments of the Lower Krishna Basin", *Seminar Papers on the Problem of Megaliths in India* (Benares, 1969), p. 19.

16 *Current Science*, 35 no. 1 (Jan., 1966), p. 5.

1.	TF-246:	Early historic period: DKT-I: Layer-11.	2355 + 95 (2425 + 100)
2.	TF-247:	Early Historical period: DKT-2: Layer-8.	2275 + 100 (2340 + 100)
3.	TF-248:	Early Historical period: (Fortifications)	2095 + 100 (2155 + 100)

Thus N.B.P. at Dharaṇikōṭa has a date range of 405 + 95 B.C. to 145 + 100 B. C., and if the dates are to be based on 5730 ± 40 as the half life[17] of C^{14}, the range work out as 475 + 100 B. C., to 205±100 B. C. Here again it must be said that no other site in Peninsular India, may it lie in Maharashtra, Gujarat, has yielded so far in such quantities, this deluxe ware as at Amarāvatī-Dharaṇikōṭa.[18] Then some pertinent queries would be: where from and when exactly N. B. P. reached these sites? Among them, which is the earliest recipient? What was the cultural pattern of these Southern sites at this early period? Was it totally imported or locally manufactured after an initial import of the ware and the technical ideas? These are vital issues worth tackling.

This being so, I have reviewed the problem in a chapter contributed to *Pauni Excavation Report* and discussed briefly the dynamics of the N. B. P. ware and its relation with the early Buddhist centres. I have also proposed that Pauni (or similar such sites in Vidarbha region), was, perhaps, instrumental in the transmission of both early Buddhism and N. B. P. to regions of far south as Amarāvatī[19], and allied sites during this period.[20] The route must have been through Central Deccan, i. e., the lower reaches of Godāvarī-trans-Krishna regions.

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17 This was decided to be of more appropriate working value. H. Godurin, *Nature*, 195 (1962), p. 984.

18 See for example, Western India sites like Prakash, Maheswar, Nevasa, Nasik, Bahal, Ter, Brahmapuri, etc. Only a handful of fragments are found in these sites for that matter even at Pauni and Kaundinyapur, the number is much less.

19 It may not be out of place to state about a recent discovery of Prof. Deo, an important Buddhist cave-site with inscriptions datable to c. 2nd century B. C., in the Phullar forest near Mandhal, hardly ten miles South of Pauni. Still southwards Deotek with an Asokan edict is well-known: Deo and Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 118.

20 Deo and Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–62.

This hypothesis of southward-spread across the lower Gōdāvari-Krishna plains is further strengthened by the fact that so far we have no evidenee of N. B. P. yielding sites along the eastern coast, i. e., south-east of Śiśupālgārh—the tract covered between Mahānadi and Gōdāvari wherein it must be said that both early Buddhism and Mauryan influence were merely of a passing nature during Aśōkan period. Even at the eastern site like Chandraketugarh, Tamluk and Śiśupālgārh (21), the ware occurred in very small numbers, baser in fabric and admittedly in later contexts indicating a mere chance survival.

It is again pertinent to note that a fully excavated site like Salihundam in the Kalinga country did not yield a single N. B. P. sherd nor we have any positive evidence of early Buddhism of an Asokan date here.[22] So also the evidence is in the negative from the trial digs at Kottur, Mukhalingam and Jami.[23] It may thus be clearly seen that Buddhist sites noticeable along the ancient coastal route, 'the road to Kalinga' have not contained N. B. P., and they are later establishments. The 'road to Kosala[24] and 'Maharashtra' has certainly very early Buddhistic sites all along. It is through these regions alone great Imperial powers like the Nandas-Mauryas and Sātavāhanas chose to descend into Āndhra-Karṇātaka regions. We have ample literary, numismatic and some later inscriptional evidences too.

The P. M. C. hoards from Raichur, Karimnagar and Gulbarga districts as pointed out by P. L. Gupta are of Pre-Mauryan origin. Speaking on the composition of the Raichur hoard, in particular, this scholar pointed out[25]: "It has the largest number of Pre-Mauryan coins in well preserved condition. The Mauryan coins found in the hoard are of the early varieties. It would not be wrong to presume that it was buried during the period of Mauryan expedition to the south, which in all probability took place in the time of Chandragupta or his son Bindusara." The pre-Mauryan coins were in the ratio of 4:1 to the Mauryan ones in this hoard and clearly shows that "these coins

21 *IAR*, 1961-62, p. 63: *Ancient India*, no. 5 (1949), pp. 68, 79-80.

22 R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam,-A Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh* (1964), pp. 7-11 and 34.

23 *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 64: *IAR*, 1961-62: p. 3. Information from Prof. O. Ramachandraiah, Andhra University, Waltair.

24 J. Dubriel in K. R. Subramanyam: *Buddhist Remains and History of Andhra*, (1932), pp. vi-viii.

25 P. L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the A. P. Govt. Museum*, No. 1 (1961) p. 2.

were not brought by Mauryans during their compaign but had been existing in this region before them."

Aśōka's 'Dharmavijaya' towards Dakshiṇāpatha appears to be a well-planned attempt since a favourable ground was already laid by the Buddhist monks much earlier to him. Kalinga war not only changed his ideals of life but also set him back rightly to the traditional Central Deccan route.

Apart from the early C^{14} dates of Dharaṇikōṭa detailed above, Amarāvatī's earliest sculptural and inscriptional evidences amply testify to the close linkage of Dhānyakaṭaka, to the several chaityas and ārāmas at Vaiśāli, Śrāvastī–Kuśinagara and Rājagṛha as illustrated by an inscribed stele, which has no parallel in the Buddhistic art of India.[26] Interestingly enough all the carved scenes relate to the sojourns of the Buddha during the last three months of his life and in this series the carving of Dhānyakaṭaka Gōshṭhī (on the third face of the state), is not without significance. It is very much relevant to quote here in full the views of K. R. Subrahmanyam: "Much credence may not be given to the story that Buddha himself visited Āndhra. But it cannot be doubted that Āndhra Buddhism is pre-Aśōkan. Neither he nor Devānāṁpiya Tissa of Ceylon is said to have despatched a mission to Āndhra. Early Buddhist stories speak of the relic stupas of Majerika which may be identified with the lower valley of Krishna. Early Buddhist literature refers to the schools of Andhaka monks which were special to Āndhra and is confirmed on the point by the early inscriptions found in the country. However, the date of the beginning of Buddhism in Andhra, the part played by the Nandas and the early Mauryas in the propagation of the gospel the causes for the phenomenal triumph of Buddhism compared with Brāhmaṇism and Jainism are problems" obscure and difficult to solve.[27]

Precisely after three decades, I try to focus the attention of the scholars once again to the validity or otherwise of these statements, in the light of a few scraps of fresh archaeological evidences. *The urgent need is a problem-oriented archaeological probe in some of the*

26 H. Sarkar in *Ancient India*, nos. 20 and 21. pp. 168–177: Jas Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, I. pp. 52–53: PL. XX; I. K. Sarma "An Ivory Seal from Dharaṇikōta Excavation", *Indian Antiquary* VI, (Poona, 1972.)

27 K. R. Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4. Also Yazdani, Ed. *Early History of the Deccan*, I (1960), pp. 68-71.

early historical cities of the South[28] *like Dharaṇikōṭa–Amarāvatī, Vengī, Pōtana, i. e., Panudanva in Asmāka, Dantapura (Kaḷiṅganagara) in Kalinga and Isilapaṭṭaṇa in Karnataka, Since we have better known the potentialities of the former site in the Krishna valley, it would be in the fitness of things to attempt here once again competently and comprehensively.*

The emergence of the early *Iron Age* in Peninsular India by about 1000 B. C. demands a fresh probe to ascertain the antiquity of the organized urban life in the south as well. As a prelude, let us build up a sequence and a C^{14} date list by digging, atleast a single substantive trench, one in each of the early cities of the South.[29]

28 D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, (1971), Map: 189, 193, 255 n; Paudanya is identified in Roychoudhry as Bodhan in Nizamabad district, A. P.

29 Korkai, a capital city of the early Pandyas in district Tirunelveli of Tamil Nadu is reported to have yielded N.B.P. Type ware and C^{14} dated to 785 B.C. R. Nagaswami, ed: *Damilica*, (Dec. 1970), pp. 50-51.

The First Buddhist Council – A Solemn Synod, A Quasi – Judicial Body or an Assembly of the Elders Against the Heretics?

BY

BAIJ NATH PURI

The holding of the First Buddhist Council immediately after the death of the Master at the Satapaṇṇiguhā in Rājagriha has been a subject of considerable discussion among Buddhist scholars[1]. Its historicity is partly questioned in the absence of its reference in the *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta*, while its nature is considered a 'legend or a quasi-legend, an actiologic or apologetic construction which may cover some kernel of truth'. The author of the *Chullavagga*, in order to embellish the history of the First Buddhist Council, has used traditional data which are neither less nor more reliable than the whole of the ancient Buddhist Tradition contained in the Vinayas or Suttas. Though it is not possible to decide whether these datas are true or false, nevertheless they present useful evidence of the early Buddhist Church.

1 The earliest to take up this problem was the Russian savant I. P. Minayeff–*Recherches sur le Bouddhisme* (1887) translated from the Russian into French by R. H. Assier de Pompignan (1894); followed by Oldenberg (*Buddhistische Studien*), ZDMG (1898) pp. 613–94 and Introduction to the Vinaya Pitaka, Vol. I, pp. xxv–xxix: and Louis de la Valee Poussin (Lex Museon VI, pp. 213–323 translated in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 37, 1908, pp. 1 ff. and also Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IV, pp. 179 ff. Otto Frank wrote a long dissertation on the Buddhist Council held at Rājagaha and Veśālī in the *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* (1907) pp. 1 ff. Kern also noticed it along with other Buddhist Councils in his *Manual of Buddhism* pp. 101 ff. while Jean Przyluski wrote a comprehensive work on *Le Concile de Rājagriha* in 1926. A good summary of Poussin's paper was done by Dr. Majumdar in his article on the Buddhist Councils in *Buddhist Studies* (Ed. B. C. Law: pp. 26 ff.) A good resume is given by N. Dutt in his book '*Early Monastic Buddhism*' Vol. I. pp. 324 ff. A good account of the Councils is also given in Lamotte: *Histoire de Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 138 ff: and Filliozat: *L'Inde Classique* Vol. II, pp. 493 ff. The caption of the present paper is based on Poussin's article in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (op. cit.)

A close examination of the traditional sources, a new assessment of of the data, the questions involved in the conveying of the First Buddhist Council, the major participants in it, the clash of ideologies involved are some of the questions which might be considered here. While it may not be possible to arrive at a result which could be pronounced as something definite, the attempt might be worth doing.

Sources:

The sources for providing information on the subject are diverse and different. Besides the eleventh Khaṇdhaka of the Chullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka from which the tradition about the Council has been handed down, the information can be gathered from other Pali works including the Ceylonese chronicles Mahāvaṁśa and Dīpavaṁsa[2]. Other works include Buddhaghōṣa's Introduction to Samanta-Pāsādikā[3], Mahābodhivaṁśa[4], Mahāvastu[5], Tibetan Dulva[6], and Hiuen Tsang's Account[7]. The account in the Mahāvastu contains only a short notice, as is also the case with the other Sanskrit work Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa[8]. The Sanskrit sources, however, provide the base for the Chinese traditions containing references to the Council. These include the Vinayas of the Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptas, Mahāsāṅghikas, and Sarvāstivādins, the Kāśyapa-saṁgīti-sūtra (Kai-ye-kie-king) translated about A. D. 148–170, the Aśokāvadāna (A-yu-wang-king) translated between A. D. 300, the Mahāprajñāpāramitāstra translated about A. D. 402–405; the Parinirvāṇa-sūtra (translated A. D. 290–306), an account of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka and of Tsa-Tsang by Kaśyapa and Ānanda after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha at Saṁkāśya (this work is in verse of five Chinese characters, dated between A. D. 317 and 420), and the commentary of the first chapter of the Ekottaragāma[9]. The Tibetan sources include Bu-ston's *Chosh-bvung* (History of Buddhism, translated into English by Obermiller) and Tārānāth's History of Buddhism[10].

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2 I. 60; Dip. IV. V.
3 I. 10
4 III. 19.
5 I. 69.
6 Rockhill: *Life of the Buddha*. pp. 148 ff.
7 Beal: *Buddhist Records*.
8 Dutt: *Early Monastic Buddhism*, p. 326.
9 These sources are noticed in Dutt's work, while the relevant extracts from these have been translated in French by Jean Przyluski.
10 *History of Buddhism* by Buston, translated by Obermiller, II. pp. 73–96.

These sources have been utilised by eminent savants from Minayeff[11] and Oldenburg[12] onward. The latter wrote a long introduction to his translation of the Vinayapiṭaka containing Chullavagga, and boldly pointed out that all our chapter of the Chulla is a forgery very well done and that the analysis does not permit us to draw from it the conclusions formulated by Minayeff. The ball set rolling by the Russian and the German savants with contradictory views attracted the attention of several other scholars who collected material regarding the Council from different sources. Wassilief, Schiefner, and Rockhill tapped the Tibetan sources, while Beal and Suzuki and Surnour, Rhys Davids, Geiger and a few others concentrated on the Chinese and Pāli sources respectively[13]. A long discussion by Otto Franke[14] published in the *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* was confined to a searching analysis and examination of the passages in the Pāli texts with a view to tracing the growth of the tradition as recorded in the Chullavagga. A detailed account of the Buddhist Councils by Louis-de-la-Valle-Poussin published in the Le Museon and later on translated in the *Indian Antiquary*[15] boldly challenged the contention of Oldenberg, and pointed out that 'Oldenberg's interpretation of internal evidences is based upon some preconceived notions and should be taken at their worth.' As regards the nature of the Council, he did not fully subscribe to the view of Minayeff that 'the Council was originally a tribunal composed of monks to decide the failings of Ānanda and Channa, and speaks of a time when the Vinaya was not yet codified, and that in course of time the story of the recitation of the Piṭakas was added to it and the tribunal was given an appearance of a conclave with a theological and literary object[16]. The Belgique scholar regarded this Council as an enlarged Patimokha assembly.

Nature and Task of the Assembly

While the ground might have been cleared about the historicity of

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

13 For consolidated references, see IA.XXXVII, 1908, pp. I ff. and foot-notes.

14 JPTS. 1908, pp. 1 ff.

15 *Ibid.*

16 I. A. 1908 pp. 7 ff, also ERE. IV. 181; Przyluski: *La Concil de Rājagriha*, p. 11.

the First Council,[17] its omission in the *Mahāparinibbānsutta* has to be explained. This has been done by Finot[18] and Obsermiller[19]. They suggested that the traditions of the first two councils originally formed the last section of the *Mahāparinibbānsutta*, and that in course of time the compilers separated the last section from the Sutta and tagged it on to the Cullavagga. This might amount to cutting the gordian knot without trying to tie it again. The omission, however, is inexplicable. The silence could be as valuable as the most direct testimony. The *argumentum ad silentio* is, however, considered too feeble for questioning the historicity of the Council and considering it as pure invention. It is even proposed that some recension of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* actually contains an account of the Council.[20] The *Chullavagga* has no claim to be regarded as the parent stock from which the other accounts have been derived. The importance of the C. V. has been much exaggerated in this respect. It could be regarded as containing one of the many versions about the story of the First Council which were current at the time of its composition.

While the attitude of Subhadda the old monk who rejoiced at the *parinirvāṇa* of the Master saying that 'we shall be able to do that pleases us, and that which does not please us we shall no longer be forced to do' might be the immediate reason for calling the Council by Mahākassapa, there seem to be other reasons as well. According to M. Suzuki,[21] the Mahīśāsaka, Dharmagupta, Mahāsaṅghika Vinayas, the *Sudarśanavinayaribhāsa* and the *Vinayamātrikasūtra* give as motive of the convocation of the Council the blasphemy of Subhadda. The Dharmagupta ascribes to Kaśyapa this reason 'that it is necessary to compile the law so that the heretics may not say that the law is like smoke.' This is also confirmed by the *Mahāvastu* which considers the irreverent conduct of Sabhadda as only one of the reasons which induced Mahakassapa to convoke the Council. Hiuen Tsang, however, suggests[22] that there were many like Subhadda who were happy at the death of the Master. Many other sources, however, ignore the

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17 Dr. R. C. Majumdar has given a resume of the views of different scholars on the historical character of the Council (*Buddhist Studies*, pp. 38 ff.)

18 I. H. Q. VII (1923), pp. 241–246.

19 Op. cit., pp. 73–96.

20 I. A. 1908 p. 8 n. 36.

21 Nanzio: *Catalogue* 1125.

22 Beal: *Buddhist Records*. II. p. 162.

Subhadda episode as the motive for conveying the Council. These include the Saravāstivādins, the Dīpavaṁśa, the Tibetan Dulva, Prajñāpāramitāśāstra, the life of Aśoka, the transmission of Dharmapiṭaka[23] and the compilation of the three Piṭakas and the Miscellaneous Piṭaka. It is in the nature of things to presume that in an atmosphere surcharged with slander, blame and censure, with the absence of a leader who could serve as a unifying force, need was felt for putting both the words of the Master and the discipline inculcated by him on a sound and secure footing. As pointed out by Hiuen Tsang[24]. And now the King of the Law having gone from the world, both men and devas were left without a guide, and the great arhats moreover were cleaving to (the idea of their) nirvāṇa. It was to secure obedience to the teaching of the Buddha that there was the necessity to collect the Dharmapiṭaka. The law was to be tabulated for the layman and also to shut the mouth of the heretics who thought that the law of the Buddha vanished like smoke.

The traditional sources in general agree that the initiative in this regard was taken by Mahākassapa, who chose the participants to the Council which step was formally approved by the Saṅgha according to the Chullavagga. The selection, according to other sources, was made by the general assembly of the Buddhist monks who had assembled at the invitation of the Great Thera. It was that big body which had chosen the participants. According to Dīpavaṁśa, the congregation which selected these participants was several hundred thousand in number and it selected five hundred Theras after proper enquiry and consideration. This number of selected theras, according to the Chinese Pilgrim, was 1000. It was then decided to hold the Council at Rājagriha (Rājagraha) in the Satapanni guhā, though the Tibetan Dulva suggests Nyagrōdha cave instead. The choice of the venue was probably due to the political importance of the city and its ruler who was a firm believer in Buddhism and could provide all facilities.

The main participants and agenda of the Council

The venue of the Council and the time of its meeting having been fixed, it was equally necessary to lay down its agenda. The time factor was in a way important as the arhats participating in its deliberations had to spend the rainy season, and the hills of Rājagriha with their caves provided the best retreat for a big gathering. The

23 Nanzio. 1363.
24 *Ibid.*

leading part in the proceedings was taken by the great Mahākāssapa who was considered at one time as the successor of the Buddhā,[25] and he no doubt was the presiding officer of the assembly. Ānand, the favourite disciple of the Buddhā, and his first cousin who was deeply attached to him,[26] and Upāli, one of the most eminent of the Buddhā's immediate disciples, who was declared by the Master to be the most proficient of those who were learned in the Vinaya[27]. In the Rājagraha Council, Upāli took a leading part deciding all questions relating to Vinaya in the same way as Ānanda did for questions relating to the Dharma. It may be incidentally mentioned here that Upāli Thēra originally belonged to a barber's family in Kapilavatthu and had entered the service of the Sākyan princes. Buddhā had ordained Upāli before the Śākyan youths so that their pride might be humbled. He was personally taught the Vinaya by the Buddhā. While there was no difficulty about the inclusion of Upāli as an arhat in the Grand Assembly, objection was raised by Mahā Kāssapa about Ānanda's inclusion since he was a *Śaiksha* and not an *asaiksha* (arhat). It seems that the exclusion of Ānanda at the initial stage could be due to other reasons rather than purely academic one. Some of the sources even suggest that Ānanda attained arhathood just on the eve of the Council[28]. According to the Chullavagga, Ānanda is stated to have suddenly attained arhathood on the eve of the Council, while the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya suggests that Ānanda, though a Śaiksha, was admitted into the Council by courtesy with the special permission of the monks (*saṅgha*)[29].

The Ānanda-Mahā Kāssapa relations were initially very good and it is suggested that the latter contrived to get Ānandā elected on the first Council. Further when Mahā Kāssapa heard of Ānandā attaining arhathood it was he who led the applause. Ānandā also held him in high veneration always addressing him as *bhantē* and himself being addressed as *āyuso*. These seem to have deteriorated later

25 Kern: *Manual* p. 102.

26 Malalasekara: *Dictionary* I. p. 249.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 408.

28 Dutt: *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

29 It is suggested that Ananda had been occupied in consoling the deity after the Buddha's death and no time for practising meditation. In the end it was a *devata* in the woodland grove in Kosala where he was staying who pointed out the urgency of the matter (*Malalasekara*. I. p. 262) cf. SBF. XX. p. 372.

on and there is an interview recorded between them in which Kāssapa proudly abused Ānandā calling him 'corn-trampler' and 'despoiler of families', finally ending up by saying that 'this boy does not know his own measure'. Ānandā winces at being called 'boy' when in his own words 'his head is growing grey hairs'[30]. Ānandā no doubt shared progressive views and was instrumental in getting women admitted to the Buddhist order. It was perhaps Ānandā's championship of the women's cause which made him popular with the nuns and earned him reputation rivalling even that of Mahākāssapa. In the words of one nun Thullnanda, ' How dare Mahākāssapa who was once a heretical teacher chide the sage Ānandā calling him ' boy'. This personal vendetta might have been the factor for Ānandā's exclusion at the first instance by Kāssapa. Later on when he was admitted by virtue of his qualifications as one nearest to the Bhddhā and most proficient in *dhamma*, flimsiest charges were laid against him at the concluding session of the Council. This point might be taken up later on when we consider the role of the Council as a tribunal.

Gavāmpati and Pūnna are the two other arhats of the time who were sought after to rectify the decisions of the Council. The Dulva mentions that after the Buddhā's death when Mahākāssapa wished to hold a Convocation of the chief monks Pūnna was sent as a special messenger to summon Gavampati, but he did not attend. Instead he sent his bowl and three robes as a gift to the Sangha. Immediately afterwards he died, and Pūnna carried out his funeral rites[31]. Pūnna also did not associate himself completely with the deliberations of the Council. He arrived at Rājagriha when the Council had ended. At his entreaty, Kāssapa gathered together the assembly afresh and Upāli recommended his recitation. Pūnna approved of all but demanded the insertion of eight permissions, eight things compatible with the law which forbids the eating of preserved food and of which Buddhā had entirely disapproved. Some of these rules are traced in the Mahāvagga.[32] The attitude of Gavampati no doubt suggests that there were differences and the germs of *saṅghabhēda* had already begun. The century following saw the emergence of the Dharmaguptas, the Mahīśāsakas and the Haimvātas. There is also some difference about the recitation of various Vinaya and Dharma texts recited in this Council.[33]

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30 Quoted from Franke's paper, JPTS. 1908 p. 24.
31 Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
32 VI. 17–19, 20.
33 Dutt: *op. cit.*, p. 331 and notes. See also Przyluski: *op. cit.*, p. 8. Pointing out Purna's dissent.

It would thus, appear from these accounts culled from different traditions, which might have been based on a common source that primarily the First Buddhist Council had the character of a synod, a meeting of ecclesiastics for consultation on religious matters. Of course, in the absence of recorded canonical literature, the arhats, the quasi-omnicient and sinless old men gathered in order to rehearse, 'to chant together (*saṅgīti*)' the word of the Buddha. This had to be done to eliminate the chances of dissension which, however, could not be ruled out. The second and the third Buddhist Councils had to re-state the words of the Buddha against the heretical views of the innovators.[34]

As a Tribunal

The quasi-judicial character of the Council is evident from its decision in Ānandā's case, also equated with that of Channa. The Ānandā episode which seems to have followed the deliberations of the Council figures only in the Chullavagga the Tibetan Dulva, the Vinayas of the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Mahisasakas, and several other authorities. There is no reference to Ānandā's guilt in the Ceylonese chronicles, Buddhaghosha's Introduction to *Sāmantapāsādikā*, and the *Mahāvastu*. It is also ignored by the Chinese pilgrim. The two cases of Ānandā and Channa seem to have been clogged together giving the Council the character of a high judicial body which could consider all cases of dereliction irrespective of the status of the person involved.[35] Channa was Gotama's companion and his groom who had committed a lapse for which he was excommunicated. The penalty of *ukkhepaniva-kamma* was decreed by the Buddha. Later on for some other offence the Buddha decreed on him the carrying out of the Brahma-daṇḍa whereby all monks were forbidden to have contacts with him. This

34 ERE. IV. p. 179.

35 This episode is also noticed by Dr. Majumdar in his paper *op. cit*., p. 35 ff, cf. IA. op. cit., pp. 2. ff. There are slight differences in the list of charges as given in different accounts though they agree in the main. The charges were—

(1) Ananda did not ascertain the *Khuddakanu Khuddakāni sikkhapadāni* (minor precepts), the abrogation of which was permitted by the Buddha.

(2) he stepped upon Buddha's rainy season robe (*Vassikāsatika*) when sewing it.

(3) he persuaded Buddha to form the order of nuns.

(4) he permitted women to have a look at the dead body of Buddha.

(5) he did not request Buddha to live longer when a hint to that effect was given to him by Buddha himself.

was the last disciplinary act of the Buddha, and its carrying out was entrusted to Ānandā. When Ānandā visited him at Goshitārāma and pronounced on him the penalty, he became humble and his eyes were opened. He became earnest and zealous in the Law. He attained arhathood and the penalty automatically lapsed.[36] The charges against Ānandā are too flimsy. Moreover, when he had already attained arhathood and was admitted to the Council in which he participated prominently, where was the need or legality of questioning his earlier conduct. The Tibetan Dulva levels the charges against Ānandā previous to his admittance. Kāssapa brought forward several charges against him which are more or less identical in nature in all the sources where these figure.[37] The charges are too trivial to call for explanation from this arhat who was a close companion of the Buddha, and the only authority on his Dhamma. If the Council exonerated him after he had attained arhathood then it probably went beyond its jurisdiction, as the matter could not be brought before it. It could, however, consider the charges before admitting Ānandā to the Council. The accounts, therefore, give conflicting details on this point. It seems that Mahā Kāssapa probably over-stepped his position and powers as the chairman of the Council in taking cognizance of such small matters concerning discipline. Probably he wanted to show that the *Saṅgha* or the Council formulated by it for a specific purpose was competent enough to take decision on all matters, and as such it also served as a quasi-judicial body. The last position of the First Buddhist Council as an assembly of elders against the heretics also calls for an analysis. The clash between orthodoxy and anarchy was not unusual. The preamble of the First Council as noticed in the Chullavagga[38] runs thus, "Come, Sirs, let us chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya, before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and what is Dhamma is put aside, before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and what is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those who hold the Dhamma become weak; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful and those who hold the Vinaya become weak." The *Mahāvagga*[39] speaks of monks 'who had no precepts and received no exhortation or instruction, wearing improper garments, eating improper food.' It also refers to a certain monk who

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36 *Vinaya.* II. 292; *Malalasekara. Op. cit.* II. p. 924.

37 Rockhill: *Op. cit.* pp. 152 ff.

38 XI. I. *SBE.* XX. pp. 370 ff.

39 I. 25

had formerly belonged to a non-Buddhist school, silencing his preceptor by reasoning, and going back to the same non-Buddhist school.[40] We also find references to corrupt methods through manipulation in a dishonest way of securing control and orthodoxy by manipulation of the votes.[41] There were germs of division with no small danger of the Buddhist Order losing its originality while a catholic and traditional spirit was also asserting itself. It sometimes happened that the sinful monks were strong and the pious monks feeble. These were dejected, forced to silence in the Saṅgha, and go away to another country.[42] There were also hierarchical differences. The Arhats were jealous of their privileges, considering themselves as the spiritual aristocracy of the Church. There were not only elders (thera) but older Elders (theratara) and the Oldest Elder on earth (*pathavya saṅghathera*). The class-consciousness with the old monks described as the 'Fathers of the Church' and 'Leaders of the Church' (*Saṅghapitaro–Saṅghaparinâvaka*, had also generated disruptionist tendencies. These became apparent even in Buddha's life-time. His sermon on schism (*saṅghabhēda*), the most hateful crime, in punishment of which an eternity of suffering is hardly sufficient,[43] is a sufficient vindication of separationist tendencies in the Buddhist Church. Buddha goes so far as to forbid the re-ordination of monks who have turned away to schism or who have followed schismatics.[44] These sermons also contain a lesson to the 'rigorists' or conservatives as well. In his words, 'Do not think, O monks, that you are to pronounce expulsion against a monk for this or that, saying: 'It occurs us to do so."

It seems that several factors were responsible for the calling of the First Buddhist Council immediately after the death of the Master. The situation demanded so. It was necessary that Dharma–Vinaya–Law and Discipline–were considered more authoritative than individual assertions or local traditions. The order of the dying Buddha that after his death, 'the law is the recourse, the lamp, the island' was obeyed. From religious and intellectual needs issued a system of rehearsing practical, legendary and doctrinal lore. This was done in the Buddhist Council in letter and spirit, with the two authoritative sources on Law

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40 *Ibid.* I, 57
41 IV. 14. 26
42 *Aṅguttara.* I. 68
43 *Chulla.* VII. 5.4.
44 *Ibid.*

and Discipline—Ānanda and Upāli—rehearsing the entire oral sermons of the Master. The Council might have served its purpose in giving a more or less codified shape, though unrecorded to these sermons: establish its authoritative character as a quasi-judicial body which could take notice of acts of commission and omission of even the top-most person, and make him repent as well, but it is doubtful if it could prevent schism in the Buddhist Church on theoretical or personal grounds or eliminate chances of future differences. The second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī a little over a hundred years after, met more or less in the same circumstances, of course with a different agenda.

Karavandapuram or Uggirankōttai - An Ancient Fortress Town of the Pāndyas

BY

K. V. RAMAN

The village of Kalakkudi or Karavandapuram in Tirunelveli District figures frequently in the early Pandyan inscriptions as an important political and cultural centre. It seems to have been once an important town which produced eminent men who adorned high ministerial and military posts in the Pāndyan court who played a leading part in many of the important royal transactions. Probably, it was made into a fortified town during the time of Neḍunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka (8th century) and, still later, made the headquarters of a Chieftain named Uggiran. The place is also called Uggirankōṭṭai.

1. *Vēḷvikkuḍi Grant:* Perhaps the earliest record in which this village is mentioned as the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant of Nedunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka (A.D. 765–815). It mentions one Muvēndamangalapēraraiya, Vaidya-sikhāmaṇi Mārankāri of Karuvandapure was appointed to execute the order made in the grant. The grant mentions that Mārankāri was instrumental in bringing about a marriage alliance between the Pāṇḍyan King Arikēsari Parānkuśa Maravarman (Nedunjaḍaiyan's father) and the Ganga princess. There was resistance from the Chalukyas for this alliance, but Mārankāri, with the help of other kings, is said to have defeated the Chālukyas and successfully performed the marriage.[1]

2. *Ānamalai inscription (A.D. 770):* Who was this Mārankāri? The inscription of Māran Saḍaiyan alias Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan at Anaimalai dated A.D. 770 gives very interesting information. It records excavation of a cave temple by Mārankāri alias Madurakavi of Karuvandapuram who was the Uttaramantri (Chief Minister). It was dedicated to Narasimha, but before the completion of the work, Mārankāri passed away and the same was continued and completed by his younger brother Māran Eyinan.

1 K. A. N. Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 58.

The Ānamalai cave temple for Narasimha is one of the earliest dated cave temples of Pāṇḍya Nadu almost as significant as the Maṇḍagapaṭṭu cave temples of Mahendravarma in Pallava territory. The inscription clearly indicates heralding of a new venture in stone by emphasising the word "Silagraham" or "Kaṟṟali" undertaken by Mārankāri. He was a Vaishnava and his other name was Madura-Kavi. Some have identified him with Madura Kavi Aḻwar, one of the twelve Alwars who hailed from Pāṇḍya nadu and a desciple of Nammāḻwar. His only work was a hymn on Nammāḻwar, who interestingly enough was known "Kāri Māran" and probably a Chieftain of Kurugur in Pāṇḍya nāḍu. Venkayya and Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar have, with much justification, identified him with Madura Kavi Alwar and the latter considered that he was a Minister first of Arikesari Parānkusa Neḍumāran and later, served his son Nedunjaḍaiyan also. According, to him, both the kings, father and son, were very much influenced by this Chief Minister Māran Kari and Peria Aḻwār in their leanings towards Vaishnavism.[2] Peria Alwar has paid glowing tributes to Neḍumāran and his services to the Alagarkoil.[3]

After the death of Māran Kāri, his younger brother became the Chief Minister. He was Maran Eyinan. While his elder brother was honoured by the title "Muvendamangala Pēraraiyar", the younger brother was given the title "Pāṇḍimangala Vijayaraiyan." He completed the cave temple for Narasimha at Ānamalai, which was begun by his elder brother in A.D. 770.

3. *Tirupparankundram cave inscriptions* (*c. A. D. 773*): Another person who hailed from the Vaidyakula from Karavandapuram village who became the top military officer under Nedunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka was Sāttan Gaṇapati.

He was a Mahā-Sāmantan. He was given the title — Pāṇḍi-amritamangala-Pēriaraiyan. He did extensive benefactions to Tirup-parankunram cave temple. This is recorded in an inscription there dated A.D. 773. His wife Nakkan Koṟṟi established the temples for Durga and Jyeshta in the same cave.

His brother was Enādi Sāttan. He served under his brother as a military officer. He was also a talented Tamil poet, who composed the Tamil verses in the Vēḷvikkuḍi inscription.

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2 *Pandyar Seppedugal*, p. XXIV.

3 *Peria Tirumoli II-7.*

4. *Srivaremangalam Copper Plate* (*c. A. D. 782*): Another top military officer from Karvandapuram is mentioned in this plate issued by the same king in his 17th year. He was Diradaran Murthy Eyinan, the executor of the deed. He was also a Mahā Sāmantan and given the title "Viramangala Pēraraiyar." The place was also called Vankalandai.

5. *Dalavāypuram Copper Plates:* This was issued by Parantaka Vira Nārāyanan in his 45th year. This records grant of villages as Ekabhoga to certain Brahmins. This was issued by the King while he was staying at Karavandapuram. One of the villages granted was Sri Vallabhamangalam, called after Srimara Sri Vallabha.

6. *The Bigger Sinnamanur Plates* (*c.A.D.916*): These plates issued by Rajasimha III in his 16th year mentions the king's single-handed victory over Ugran, the Chieftain of Karagiri, together with his elephants. Karagiri has been identified with Karuvendapuram, which was a well fortified town and which was made the headquarters of a rebellious Chieftain, Ugran. Evidently, it was already a fortified town during Nedunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka's time. According to Prof. Sastri, soon after the conquest of Venad, Nedunjaḍaiyan undertook the task of fortifying Karavandapura probably because it was on the frontier of the newly conquered country[4].

7. *Karuvandapuram in later inscriptions:* It continued to be an important place under the Chōḷas also. A vaṭṭaḷettu grant of early 10th century, belonging to the Chōḷa King Parāntaka I at Suchindram records the gift by Orungai Arangan of Karuvendapuram in Kalakkuḍi Nadu.[5]

An epigraph of Rājarāja I records a gift by a merchant of Karuvendapuram to the Vishnu temple at Ten-Tirumalinjōlai.[6]

A later inscription found at Piranmalai records a gift to Mangainatha temple there by one Alagapperumāḷ Avani Narayana-dēva, who was the *Ulagaḷandan* or *Surveyor-General* at that time.[7]

An inscription of 11th year of Maravarman Sundara Pāndya (A.D. 1249) found at the lake-bund Kadupatti-kulam at Uggirankoṭṭai

4 K. A. N. Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 64.

5 82 of 1896.

6 418 of 1906.

7 S. I. I. VIII, No. 431.

records taxes on the *devadana* lands of the temples of Arikesariśvaram-Uḍaiya-Nāyanār and Iyalkaṭṭiśvaram-Uḍaiya-Nāyanār at Kalakkuḍi for the annual deepening and upkeep of the tank which was known by the name Parantakappērēri.[8]

8. *The Fort and the Temples: Aditya-Baṭāra Temple:* There are remnants of old mud fortifications and the moat at Uggirankōṭṭai. Traces of a number of early temples situated within the fort are also to be seen. Thus, at the eastern entrance of the fort was a temple for Surya called in the inscriptions as Aditya Bhaṭāra. This information is found in a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription of Sadaiyan Māran (8th century) at the Chokkalingēśwara Temple at Uggirankōṭṭai.[9]

Vadavāyil-amarndāḷ Temple: On the northern entrance of the fort, was located the temple for vadavāyil-nangai also called Vaḍavāyil-amarndāḷ (one who is seated at the northern entrance). To-day the temple goes under the name of Chokkanāyaki Amman Temple, corresponding to the Chokkalingēśwara Temple. The *tiruchuṟṟālai* or the cloister around the sanctum of the temple was constructed by a merchant named Inban-Dēvana-Cheṭṭi of the merchant guild "Ainurruvar." The *tiruchuṟṟālai* was named after him as *Nagarataṉ tiruchuṟṟālai*. This information is contained in a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription on a slab in the compound of the temple.[10] There are later Pāṇdyan inscriptions also on the walls of this temple.

Chokkalingēśvara Shrine: The shrine of Chokkalingaswami has the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions of Śaḍayan Māran. A Vaṭṭeḻuttu record here mentions the construction of an *ambalam* (temple or pavilion) called "Nagarattan" by a merchant in the name of the trading class, Nagarattār.[11] Perhaps this shrine was also called in earlier times as Arikēśari-īśwarattu-Dēvar.[12]

Vishnu Temple; There are also perhaps traces of a Vishnu temple on the southern side of the fort. Karuvandapuram was an important Vaishnava settlement during the Pānḍyan times and particular members of Vaidya-kula like Māran Kāri, Māran Eyinin etc. attained distinction in the political and cultural spheres. An exquisite sculpture of Vishnu

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8 201 of 1935-36.
9 194 of 1935-36.
10 199 of 1935-36.
11 196 of 1935-36.
12 201 of 1935-36.

in the early Pandyan style is found among the loose sculptures in the Chokkanayaki Temple (Plate I).

9. *Archaeological Excavation:* Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Madras, under the direction of Shri K. V. Soundara Rajan, did some excavations recently at Uggirankottai. The brick-built rampart wall and the moat were exposed. The rampart encloses an area of 52.6 hectares. Inside the fort vestiges belonging to the 7th to 10th centuries were found.

10. *Sculptures:* There are excellent Pandyan sculptures of great beauty in different places at Uggirankottai. The image of Vadavāyil-amarndāḷ at the northern entrance is a fine one (Plate II). It is an eight-armed image of Kāḷi in the *roudra* form with all the offensive and defensive weapons and stamping the demon with her left leg. Early Pandyan sculptures found lying in the compound of the Chokkanayagi temple like the standing Vishnu, Saptamatrikas, Bhairava etc. are also of remarkable beauty. They clearly testify to the high degree of sculptural art practised at the place.

11. Thus, from the foregoing account, we can gather that Kalakkudi or Karuvandapuram was an important town during the Pandyan times. The ancient temple there viz., Arikēśarīśvaram-Uḍyana-Nāyanār might recall its association with Arikēśari-Parānkuśa Neḍumāran. It attained great fame during the reign of his son, Nedunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka, whose Chief Ministers and military Commanders hailed from this place. The members of the Vaidya-Kula family of this place were highly talented and cultured and the many Chief Ministers and Commanders were specially chosen from this family. Enadi Sāttan of this family was not only a military officer but also a great Tamil poet who composed the Tamil verses of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant. Vaidya Kula evidently refers to the class of Brahmins steeped in the Vaidika or Vedic way of life. It is interesting to note that they were not only exponents of music and art but also were eminent in the military science. This reminds us of the Sālais and the Vedic Ghaṭikas, where Vedic Brahmins underwent military training also. It is not improbable that there was one such Ghaṭika at Karuvandapuram, considering the member of generals who hailed from the Vaidya-Kula of Karuvandapuram.

Probably, it was during the time of Nedunjaḍayan Parāntaka that the place was fortified and a palace was also built there. The temple of Aditya Bhaṭāra (Sūrya) on the eastern side of the fort and the temple of the Goddess Vaḍavāyil-amarndāḷ on the northern entrance

bear inscriptions of this King. The temple of Arikesarīśvarattu Nāyinar also has an inscription of Saḍaiyan Māran (12th year). The lake nearby is significantly called *Parāntaka Pērēri*, evidently called after Nedunjadaiyan Parāntaka.

From the Dalavaypuram Copper Plates, we can infer that kings sometimes used to stay at the place at Karuvandapuram. Probably on one such occasion, Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇan issued this copper platé grant.

During the time of Rājasimha III a chieftain named Ugran made this place as his headquarters and challenged the authority of the Pāṇḍyas. But he was defeated and the place conquered. Karuvandapuram was also called Karagiri and Kalandai. There were probably two divisions in the town Vangalandai and Tenkalandai–north and south Kalandai.[13]

Karuvandapuram was thus politically and culturally an important place in the Pandyan country. There was a colony of merchants (Nagarattār) at the place named *Rajasimgapperangāḍi*. They did many additions and benefactions to the local temples. There was also a merchant-guild at the place called *Ainuṟṟuvar*. Even during the Chōḷa period, the merchants of this place extended their patronage to the temples, but probably the hey-day of Karuvandapuram had gone with the Pandyas.

13 The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant mentions *Vangalandai Vaidyakulam* and an inscription of the 11th century from Uggirankottai mentions Tenkalandai (198 of 1935–36).

The Domestic Animals in the Cultures of India[1]

BY

ROSEWITHA CONRAD

I. INTRODUCTION

The study aims at giving a picture of the practice of keeping domestic animals in the earliest cultures of India. It is hoped that the results obtained from modern research on domestic animals as well as the discussions with other disciplines will enlighten us about the importance of India for the research on domestic animals and thereby make a contribution to the history of animals brought under human control.

Owing to the favourable geographical and climatic conditions and the discovery of an early civilisation in the valley of the river Indus, India is regarded by various writers as one of the centres of animal domestication. This view is supported by the occurrence of the wild ancestors of many of our domestic animals.

In addition to the skeletal remains themselves, numerous animal representation on seals and pottery as also terracotta figures from

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1 This article is a summary of the author's doctoral dissertation entitled *De Hustiers in den fruthen Kulturen Indiens* submitted to the Munich University in 1966. Dr. Conrad carried out this research under the guidance of Prof. Dr. J. Boessneck, Director of the Institute für Palaeoanatomie, Domestikations forschung und Geschichte der Tiermedizine der Uninersitat Munchen. The said dissertation has been published in full *Sūngeiierkundliche Mitteilungen*, 16, 1968, pp. 189–258. The present summary, prepared by Dr. Barbara Richter at the instance of Prof. Dr. Boessnech, has been translated into English by Dr. K. Paddayya. The latter alone is responsible for any ambiguities arising in connection with the language.

The readers' attention may be drawn to the fact that the study is incomplete inasmuch as it does not refer to the evidence from some of the latest excavations in the area under discussion e. g. Mundigak (Casal, 1961), Kot Diji (Khan, 1965), Rangpur (Rao, 1963), Lothal (IAR., 1954–55 onwards: Nath, 1968:6; see also Rao 1973), and Kalibangan (IAR., 1960–61 onwards. (Translator).

numerous settlements form the evidence for the history of domestic animals. In the course of the present work, there arose difficulties in that no personal study could be made of the skeletal material and also because the identification of the remains was not always reliable. Moreover, stylisation rendered the meaning of animal depictions difficult to comprehend.

Two culture–complexes of India are discussed here:

1. The Neolithic–Chalcolithic farming cultures of north–western India;
2. The Indus civilisation.

The first settled farming communities appeared in the hill-valleys of Baluchistan and, starting from the border zones of eastern Iran, stretched themselves along the Iranian–Pakistan coastal zone, then northwards on the western slopes of the Suleiman range up to Afghanistan. On the other side of the Suleiman chain further settlements connected themselves up to the present-day Pakistani portion of the Indus region (Mode, 1959: 18-21). It is believed that in the second half of the 4th millenium B. C. farming peoples came to Baluchistan, Makran and Sind from the Iranian plateau. Their culture appears to be related to that of Jemdet Nasr and Uruk in Iraq and Tell Halaf in western Mesopotamia (Goetz, 1962: 24). Subsequent to a transition from semi-nomadic to settled farming way of life (Piggot, 1962: 51), independent local cultures of farming communities appeared in the various valleys towards the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Piggott, 1962: 134). There is evidence to believe that grain cultivation was made possible by an irrigation system. The tools were of stone, copper and bronze. Of artistic importance are the pottery wares manufactured on turn-table; they belong to the polychrome complex, which also embraces the pre-urban cultures of Mesopotamia and Syria (Mode, 1959: 36). On the basis of similarities in pottery it may be assumed that already around 2800 B. C. trade connections existed between Sumer and southern Baluchistan.

Around the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. the Indus civilisation appeared in the valley of the Indus and its tributaries. It stretches itself up to Delhi (including the Punjab) in the northeast and in the south from Makran to the Kathiawar peninsula (Piggott, 1946: 8).

Nothing is known about the genesis of the Indus civilisation. It appears suddenly in a fully developed form and bears typical Indian

features. The administration of the empire was carried out from two main cities: Mohenjo-daro on the lower Indus in Sind and Harappa in the middle reaches of the Ravi in the Punjab. Both were planned cities; from their pattern of settlement we can infer the existence of a rich class, a prosperous middle class and a working class. The existence of such an urban culture based on agriculture was favoured by the probable location of the Indus region within the zone of monsoonal rains in earlier times. Apart from the two big cities, the culture comprises small towns and country settlements.

Another source reflecting the prosperity is to be found in the trade, which connected the Indus people with Baluchistan, Sumer, Persia, Central Asia and South India (Wheeler, 1953:59.) Interestingly enough, despite these many-sided trade contacts, a great degree of uniformity prevailed for nearly 700 years, in all technical and cultural spheres.

The " bloom period " of the culture lay between 2300 and 2000 B. C. Its downfall is explained through advancing drying-up of the land and unmistakable stagnation, on the one hand, and through the invasion of people from the west in the early centuries of the 2nd millennium B. C. on the other (Piggott, 1962:257).[2]

II. The Domestic Animals of the Farming Communities of Northwestern India

It may be mentioned in advance that the faunal material as well as the animal representations were studied by different investigators and their interpretations do not always agree with one another.

1. *Skeletal Remains*

a) *Quetta Valley*

The evidence has been described by Fairservis (1956:382). Kili Ghul Mohammed, lying to the south of Quetta, is the most important site. Its lowest cultural level (3350+500 B. C.)[3] represents a relatively

2 For other views on this issue, see Dales (1964 and 1966)) Rykes (1964 and 1966), Fairservis (1967), Possehl (1967) and also Wheeler (1966):72—83). (Translator.)

3 The correct dates are P–524 5474 ± 83 (5638 ± 85 or 3688 B. C.) and L–180 A 5497 ± 500 (5662 ± 515 or 3712 B. C.). The dates in brackets are based on the carbon-14 half life of 5730 ± 40 years. For these and other related dates, see Dales (1965) (Translator.)

settled community which lived in mud huds and used stone and bone tools, but no traces of agriculture and pottery.

The excavations brought to light about 15000 animal bones, of which about 200 belong to wild animals. The bones of sheep and goat were most frequent and were found in all phases (J to G). From the age of teeth it would seem that many of the animals were killed when they were less than two years old (most probably when they were only one year old). The rest of the animals attained maturity. There are three factors which make it difficult to be sure of domestication: (1) the presence in northwestern India of the sabre–horned Bezoar goat (*Capra aegagrues* Erxleben)—the main ancestor of the domestic goat, the presence also of the Markhor (*Capra falconeri* Wagner); (2) the wild sheep living in Baluchistan being the ancestors of the most of the domestic sheep breeds (Zeuner, 1967:138) and (3) the difficulties arising in connection with the differentiation of the bones of primitive domestic sheep and goats from those of wild animals. However, the preponderance of bones of young animals bespeaks domestication.

Cattle are represented in all levels. The bones from phases H and C are ascribed to *Bos indicus*. It is not known whether the bones of phases I and J belong to wild or domestic cattle.

A small quantity of equine bones are found in the levels of phases I to G. According to Fairservis, they are of the onager *equus hemionus*.

Remains of wild animals are available but in very small quantities. It is surprising that the bones found in the early period do not exceed in proportion to those of the later protohistoric periods.

b) *Rana Ghundai*

Five main periods of occupation have been encountered here: the lowest level has been fixed in the 4th millennium B. C. Rose (1946: 284–316) believes that the site witnessed repeated occupation by a group of semi–nomadic or pastoral people. Only 29 bones could be identified as belonging to the domestic animals. They belong to the humped cattle (*Bos indicus* Linné), sheep. ass (*Equus asinnus* Linné) and horse (*Equus caballus* Lenné). The equine bones may as well be of the onager or khur (*Equus hemionus* khur)—the only wild equine of India.

c) *Sur Jangal*

The majority of bones belong to the cattle; those of sheep and goat are spares. Bones of dog and fox are also reported. If the represent-

ations on pottery are any guide, the cattle bones probably belong to the humped animals.

d) *Nal Cemetery*

Animal bones, mainly of sheep and goat, were found in at least six graves: these remains were a part of the funerary offerings (Piggott, 1962:84).

e) *Damb Buthi Cemetery (Sind).*

Bones of cattle were found as a part of the funerary goods (Piggot, 1962:84).

2. *Animal Representations on Pottery*

Vessels with animal motifs were found at many sites.

a) *Zhob cultures*

Humped cattle alongside stylised cattle without hump, black-buck (*Antilope cervicapra*) and sheep with typical moufflon type of horns (very much like those of the urial found in Baluchistan) are represented in period II at Rana Ghundai. Humped Cattle and black-buck are depicted in period I at Sur Jangal.

b) *Nal-Nundara Cultures*

Characteristic are the animals shown in outline drawings: fishes, scorpions, birds, cats, blackbucks, ibex and a doubtful representation of humped bull (Piggott, 1962: Figs. 4-8.)

Highly stylised depictions of bull, goats, tiger and fish are known from Sohr Damb, the famous burial site near Nal (Mode, 1959:28).

c) *Kulli-Mehi Cultures*

Humped cattle (depicted as bull and cow) with all the details shown carefully are most dominating; they are accompanied by stylised goats.

d) *Quetta Culture*

Most striking are the humped cattle with long, upright horns (Fairservis, 1956:352). There are alo several other animal representations which cannot be identified.

3. *Terracotta Figures*

a) *Zhob Culture*

Numerous clay figurines of humped cattle are known from Sur

Jangal, Periano Ghundai, Moghul Ghundai, Ghundai III, Kaudani and Dabarkot (Period Periano) (Piggott, 1962:128). In a further figurine from Periano Ghundai attempts were made to depict a horse, but the identification is uncertain due to the crude craftsmanship (Hancar 1955:466; Mode, 1959:23).

b) *Kulli–Mehi Cultures*

Aurel Stein found 66 figures of humped cattle. Eighty–five bull-figurines, between 7 and 10 cm. long, in the cemetery at Shahi Tump (Piggott, 1962:108). In addition, one figurine of dog, a few painted figurines of bulls and clay models of carts drawn by oxen were also found.

c) *Quetta Culture*

With the exception of one example (it belongs to Damb Sodat II) all the bull figurines belong to the period Damb Sadat III (2nd millennium B. C.) From period II we also know of a fragment depicting the hind quarters of a horse.

4. *Conclusions*

Summing up, the keeping of domestic animals by the earliest known settled communities of northwestern India can be regarded as proved. It is widely held that the inhabitants of Baluchistan kept sheep, goats and cattle as domestic animals. Moreover, the domestic dog was also known. Horse cannot be proved for certain before the end of the 3rd Millennium B. C. Hunting does not appear to have played an important role.

III The Domestic Animals of the Indus Civilisation

1. *Source Material*

The skeletal remains come mainly from Mohenjo daro and Harappa.

Thirty–seven species were identified at Mohenjo–daro [Marshall, 1931 (Volume 2): 649–73.] They include many wild species such as the gavial (*Gavialis gangeticus*), fishes and tortoises. Layer IV produced the remains of cattle (*Bos indicus*), pig (*Sus cristatus*) and camel (*Camelus dromedarius*), layer III the remains of cattle and pig, layer II the remains of cattle, pig, sheep, buffalo, elephant, dog, Mungo (*Herpestes auropunctatus*) and fowl, and layer I the remains of the dog, sheep, pig and horse.

From Harappa (Prashad, 1936) identified 30 different species—wolf, jackal, barasingha, rhinoceros, fishes and reptiles as well as many domestic animals comprising cattle, buffalo, ass, goat, sheep, pig, dog, cat, camel and fowl.

The poorly preserved material from Chanhu-daro (Mackay, 1943) was identified by G. M. Allen as belonging to cattle, pig, goat, *sambar* and hog-deer.

The most voluminous evidence is formed by the steatite seals found in thousands; they carry inscribed signs and animals representations. The latter depict in order of frequency the "unicorn," short-horned bull, Indian humped cattle, elephant, tiger, buffalo, rhinoceros, goat (rare), gavial, hare, fowl, fishes, tortoise and snakes. Representations similar to those of the seals are found on tablets of copper. The animals depicted are the "unicorn," elephant, antelope, hare, rhinoceros, buffalo (?), goat, tiger and certain "mixed creatures." Terracotta figurines are among the most frequent small finds ; they very often depict animals such as the short-horned bull, humped cattle, buffalo, rhinoceros and elephant.

2. *Domestic Animals*

a) *Cattle*

Cattle appear to have been the most important domestic animals in the Indus civilisation (Prashad, 1936) ascribes the bones from Harappa to the domestic humped cattle. The representation (on seals etc.) seem to indicate the presence of two breeds: (a) the zebu cattle with long and upright horns and (b) a humpless short-horned variety. The zebu is never associated with a cult object or fodder trough, whereas the humpless beasts are shown with a "manger" in front of them.

The origin and ancestry of the zebu are unknown. Some of the characteristic features like the hump are regarded as consequences of domestication—adaptations to a steppe environment. As to its wild ancestors, two species are taken into account: the Ur (*Bos primigenius*) or an eastern variety of this species (*Bos primigenius namadicus*). It is possible that the well-built animals were kept for their flesh and milk. It is proved for certain that these animals were used for draft. Although the cow is regarded as a divine symbol in the present-day Hinduism, it does not appear to have been worshipped by the Indus people, the representations being exclusively of male beasts.

b) *Sheep*

Prashad (1936: 9, 50-3) describes 71 bone fragments and 17 teeth of sheep from Harappa. It is certain that the Indus people possessed wool-sheep with spiral-shaped horns. Both wool and milk were probably used by the people.

c) *Goat*

While no goat remains are described from Mohenjo-daro, Prashad reports from Harappa 43 bone fragments and 11 teeth of the domestic goat. Further, this animal is represented on seals from both Harappa and Mohenjo-daro as well as in the paintings on pottery. But it is very often problematic whether the animal in question is the wild Bezoar goat or the domestic form. The representation mainly concerns a male animal with a heavy build and twisted horns, whereas the osteological evidence from Harappa reveals a small and sabrehorned variety. But the lack of correspondence between the two categories of evidence may not necessarily be a contradiction.

d) *Pig*

Sewell (in Marshall 1931) reports a number of pig bones from Mohenjo-daro; these, according to him, are of the *Sus cristatus* (probably domesticated). Prashad (1936: 54-7) describes from Harappa some 30 bone fragments and 20 teeth belonging to the domestic form of *Sus scrofa cristatus*. The pig is depicted but rarely in the terracotta art.

e) *Horse*

Unlike the other domestic animals, the horse is represented by skeletal remains from the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa only.[4] The presence of *Equus caballus* is inferred on the basis of a fragmentary mandible [Sewell in Marshall 1931 (Volume 2): 653 ff]. The equine remains from Harappa are ascribed to the domestic ass, though in certain cases without justification.

f) *Camel*

From Mohenjo-daro Sewell (in Marshall 1931) describes a scapula fragment of *Camelus dromedarius*. Prashad (1936: 58 ff) reports three incomplete bones of this animal from Harappa. It is doubtful whether it was really possible to identify the species.

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4 For the evidence from Rupar and Lothal, see Bhola Nath (1968:5), and Nath (1968:6) and Rao (1973:89, Pl. XXIII A) respectively. For the evidence in terracotta art from Rangpur, see Rao (1963:137). (Translator).

g) *Dog*

Sewell believes that the skeletal remains from Mohenjo-daro belong to the domestic dog or a pariah-type animal (like the ones still to be found in India). Prashad (1936: 3) ascribes the material from Harappa to the Indian jackal (*Canis indicus* Hodgson), Indian wolf (*Canis pallipes* Sykes) and dog (*Canis tenggeranus* Kohlbrugge, race *harappensis*, nov.). From the size of the skull one can infer that the Harappan dog corresponds to the medium-sized domestic dog. The dog is also proved by statuettes. A hound is depicted by a well-finished steatile figurine; it was used for hunting. Neck-chains allow us to believe that they served as watch-animals also.

Taken as a whole, from the skeletal material as well as the representations it would seem that the dogs of the Indus culture were relatively primitive and pariah-like showing a degree of variation both as regards size and appearance. While some showed Pomeranian features, others evidently showed a tendency towards slender forms recalling those of the greyhounds. According to Zeuner (1967: 88), the heavy hound (its size however unknown) might have been derived from the pariah.

h) *Fowl*

India is of particular importance for the history of the domestic fowl. Right from Darwin the South Asian wild fowl of the species *Gallus gallus* L. is considered to be its ancestor. This wild species has at least four geographical races; according to Gandert (1953: 70) the north Indian wild fowl (*Gallus gallus* murghi Robinson e. Kloss) has the largest share in the evolution of the domestic form. The archaeological evidence of the fowl from the Indus culture is all the more interesting, because the above-mentioned wild fowl is still to be found in the jungles of north India.

Both Harappa and Mohenjo-daro yielded bird bones identified (partly without justification) as those of the domestic fowl. The clay figurines and seals reveal the presence of both heavy and slender-bodied breeds.

3. *Animals whose Domestication is Uncertain*

a) *Bull represented as "unicorn"*

The animal which is most frequently depicted on the Indus seals is the so-called unicorn. It is shown with a long, slender but well-built

body and weakly-developed withers. The back is somewhat arched with a long tail and sometimes a feebly depicted mane, but no dewlap. The head is relatively small, with a clearly indicated mouth, inflated nostrils and big eyes possessing clear brown and very protruding lids. The raised position of the head is very peculiar; this posture arises from the fact that the head is stretched over an object (a short post) placed before the animal. The animal is called "unicorn", because only one horn is depicted in the profile. This horn is long and erect, bent first towards the front and then the tip backwards. In its shape the horn resembles that of the Ur. The animal is considered to be Ur (*Bos primigenius Bojanus*) or Ur-like domestic ox.

b) *Buffalo*

It is commonly believed, and with justification, that the buffalo was domesticated in north India. This is revealed by the skeletal material from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, identified by Sewell (in Marshall 1931 Volume 2: 659—668) and Prashad (1936: 43—6) as belonging to the Indian domestic buffalo.

The representations show a strong male animal (bison) with prominent hindquarters, long, narrow skull and broad forehead bulging forwards. The horns are crescent-shaped, bend away to the sides from the skull and then stretch backwards, with their tips approaching close to each other. The beast is depicted in a characteristic posture shivering from danger or in a fighting pose, with the head raised and turned to the side, somewhat like a wild Arni-buffalo.

c) *Elephant*

Besides the cattle, elephant is the most valued animal of the Indians. Actually-speaking, it has at no time been a true domestic animal, because it is slow-growing and hence its rearing not profitable. A grown-up animal is trapped and then tamed. It is most probable that the Indus people tamed elephants. Seals with impressions of elephants are known from Mohenjo-daro—36 seals (Marshall, 1931: Mackay, 1938), Chenhu-Daro—one seal (Mackay, 1943, T, LI, 20) and Harappa—6 seals (Vats, 1940, T. XCI, 326—31.)

d) *Cat*

Among the faunal remains from Harappa, Prashad (1936:7, 15-17) ascribes a skull fragment and a humerus to the domestic cat. He considers it to be oldest known instance in India. But the evidence is not conclusive.

This animal is not represented in the terracotta art. The evidence is equally negligible for the Vedic period. Later, Kautilya refers to it as a domestic animal in his work *Artha sastra* (Meyer 1926:351).

e) *Dove*

Among the clay figurines there are many which depict doves, although it is not possible to identify the exact species. It is possible that, as in Crete and Sumer, the doves played a role in connection with the cult of Mother Goddess (Mackay, 1935:83: 1943: 160 ff).

f) *Peacock*

As a typical Indian animal, the peacock is not to be found in any other country in prehistoric times. The representations belonging to the Late Harappan period (2nd millennium B. C.) constitute the earliest known evidence for this animal. They reveal that the peacock had already possessed a religious significance. But it is not certain (though not improbable) whether it was domesticated (Gandert 1953:76.)

g) *Other Animals*

Basing on the seal impressions, it may be said that the tiger played a role in the religious life of the Indus people.

The presence of the Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) is proved by skeletal remains from Harappa as well as by impressions on seals and copper tablets from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. This animal was venerated by the people.

Monkeys [most probably the Rhesus monkeys—*Macacus rhesus* (Mackay, 1938:293)] are often represented in the terracotta art.

Information regarding the other animals known to the Indus people can be found in the original dissertation.

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Early Huna Invasion of Peshawar in the Light of Fa-hien's Account and its Significance

BY

M. D. N. Sahi

This paper attempts to identify the king, who according to Fa-hien, had invaded Peshawar for carrying off the Buddha's alms-bowl — an object of worship, and to assess the significance of this event on the history of the early Imperial Guptas.

This king had 'formerly' got together a large army and attacked with a view to carrying off the bowl and had conquered the country, but his attempt had been foiled by a miraculous exhibition of passive resistance on the part of the bowl. Then the king knew that his hour of possession of the relic had not yet come. Filled with shame and regret he built a pagoda on the spot and also a monastery leaving a garrison to guard the bowl.

Leaving out the miraculous and supernatural elements and traditional description from Fa-hien's account, the facts that emerge definitely are that there was an armed raid on Peshawar from outside and the town was occupied. And that the leader of the raid, a follower of Buddhism built a stupa and a monastery at the place which was in a flourishing condition at the time of Fa-hien's visit, and was inhabited by 700 monks. Later on when Hiuen Tsang visited, it was in ruins.

Different writers have explained this account differently. Remusat, Klaproth and Landresse[1] and Beal[2] and Legge[3] render the invader of Peshawar as the king of the Yue-ti, Yue-chi and Yuch-she respectively. H. A. Giles[4] puts him as the 'king of the Ephthalites' whereas according to Li Yung-hsi[5] he was 'a king of the Sakas.'

The reason for this confusion arose probably because in the different Chinese texts we get the same term used for different tribes

1 *The Pilgrimage of Fa-hien*, (Cal., 1848), p. 81.

2 *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Reprint (Delhi, 1969), pp. xxxii—xxxiii.

3 *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, (Reprint, New York, 1965), pp. 34–35.

4 *The Travels of Fahsien* (Second impression, 1956), pp. 14–15.

5 *A Record of the Buddhist Countries*, (Peking, 1957), pp. 28–29.

and different terms for the same people e. g. the Ephthalites or white Hunas are called by the Chinese as Hoa or Hua or Ye-ta-i-li-to or Ye-tha or Aptal. They are called Ita, Ye-ta (Ye-tha) by Sung Yun. According to other Chinese sources these people belong to the family of Yue-che. The author of *Thung-kiang-nu* states that Aptal (= Ephthalites) were of the race of Ta Yue che (= Kushanas). Ma-tuan-lin gives two notes on Hephthalites in his Encyclopaedia; in one he says that Ye-ta (= Ye-tha = Hephthalites) are of the race of Ta Yue-che and according to others a branch of the Kao-che, and in the other he observes that I-tan belong to the same race as Ta yue-che.[6] Again in one version of *Wei-shu* Kidara was pursued by Hing-nu when he retired to the west, whereas in the accounts of T'ong Tien and Ma-tuan-lin, Kidara is driven by Jouan–Jouan. Furthermore, Ki-to-lo (Kidara) is stated to belong to the Ta Yue-che race according to *Pei-she*[7], whereas he is said to belong to the race of little Yue-chi as well as Ta Yue-chi in *Wei-shu*.[8] This indicates that all these terms had flexible meanings and often were used synonymously.

Whatever may have been the reason which gave rise to these different renderings, the present writer has tried to study the account critically and analyse the three different propositions arising out of different translations in the following pages, namely, the Saka, Kushana and Huna invasion of Peshawar and has finally evaluated their validity. The point of enquiry therefore would be: whether he was a Saka, Kushana or Ephthalite ruler who invaded Peshawar according to Fa-hien.

Let us take the Saka proposition first. According to the Chinese annals the pressure of the Yue-chi on the Sakas produced two-fold results—a branch of them migrated from Bactria to the south and settled in Kipin and the rest were scattered and formed several kingdoms[9]. A branch of the Sakas seems to have been directed towards the west into Iran[10]. These Sakas of Western Iran migrated to India either during the reign of Mithradatas or just after his reign.

6 McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, pp. 405–406.

7 Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilization* (Agra, 1962), p. 365 fn.

8 M. F. C. Martin, *JRASBL*, XII, *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLVII, pp. 23 ff.

9 S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Sakas in India*, (1955) p. 6.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

They entered India taking the usual route by Kandhara and the Bolan or Mulla pass over the Brahui mountains, leading into the country of lower Indus or Sind. According to Thomas, whatever dynasties may have existed in the Punjab or India, they reached India, neither through Afghanistan nor through Kashmir, but as Cunningham contented by way of Sind and the valley of Indus[11]. Thus it is clear that they did not enter India through the Khyber pass, and so the region of Gandhara including Peshawar obviously, may not have been their early possessions.

From the imitation of certain Greek coin types which seem to be nnected with Pushkalavati[12], Rapson thinks that Maues, the first Saka er, conquered these regions. Similarity of the monograms on certain oins of Maues with that of Telephus led Tarn to conclude that Mause must have conquered Kapisa[13]. But as rightly pointed out by A.K. Narain that the coins of Maues are no less in small number and their total absence, except a solitary example, either in Pushkalavati or the Kapisa region, is conclusive proof that he did not rule there[14]. Nearly 107 coins of Maues were reported from Sirkap itself. Therefore, though he had great faith in Buddhism, as is exemplified by his coins, the possibility of his invasion of Peshawar is ruled out since he did not rule there.

Next comes Azes I, who succeeded Maues at Taxila, and whose occupation of Peshawar is definitely established. A stone inscription preserved in Kabul museum mentions the appointment of a satrap under him at Peshawar and whose name was Tiravharna.[15] His predecessor in this region was the Indo-Greek ruler, Hippostratus. On the basis of the distribution of his coins, Whitehead placed him in this region.[16] However, it has been asserted by Tarn that 'the city' coins of Hippostratus were struck at Bucephala, which he places on the eastern bank of Jhelum and considers it to be the capital of Hippostratus.[17] A. K. Narain maintains that Azes I re-struck the coins of Hippostratus

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11 J. R. A. S. (1906), p. 216.
12 E. J. Rapson (ed): *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 570.
13 W. W. Tarn: *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, (1951), p. 332.
14 A. K. Narain: *The Indo-Greeks*, (Oxford, 1957), p. 147.
15 *Acta Orientalia*, XVI, Paro iii (1937), pp. 234 ff.
16 *Numismatic Chronicle*, (1923), p. 338.
17 W. W. Tarn: *op. cit.*, pp. 326–327.

and 'evidently overthrew him'.[18] Now, quite obviously if this overthrow by Azes I was preceded by a war or battle, it would have taken place to the east of Taxila, near the capital of Hippostratus and not towards Peshawar. Hence, Aze's I claimed and held sway over the territory of Peshawar by defeating and ousting Hippostratus from his capital. Therefore his case too, for any armed raid of Peshawar is ruled out.

This brings us to the second possibility, namely the case of the Yuech-chi king as the invader, as suggested by Beal, Legge and others. Legge suggests that 'the king' (in question) was Kanishka himself and charges Fa-hien with mixing 'in an inartistic way' different legends about him.[19] This suggestion, however, appears to be least convincing. There is incontrovertible evidence to indicate that the region of Peshawar was annexed to the kingdom of the Kushanas by one of his predecessors, as we shall see shortly and to which Kanishka succeeded later. Therefore it does not seem reasonable to presume that Kanishka would make an armed raid to carry away a sacred object lying within his own territory.

Let us now consider the case of one of his predecessors who got his hold over Peshawar for the first time. Naturally our attention is drawn towards Kujula Kadphises, the first Kushana ruler whose rule over the region in question, is beyond doubt. On the combined testimony of Justin and Fan-ye it is evident that the Indo-Greeks were replaced by the Parthians who in turn were ousted by the Kushanas.[20] On the basis of certain literary,[21] epigraphic[22] and numismatic evidence it has been suggested and which is quite likely, that Gondophernes, the Parthian ruler, put an end to the rule of the last Greek king Hermaues.[23] The controversial coin type—the joint issues of Hermaues and Kujula Kadphises as has been pointed out by Lohuizen-de Leauw,[24] Bachhofer[25]

18 A. K. Narain: *op. cit.*, pp. 152.

19 *op. cit.*, p. 34 fn.

20 K. A. N. Sastri (ed.), *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II (1957), p. 183.

21 Coneybeare: *The Life of Apollonius*, i. p. 183.

22 *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, p. 282.

23 S. Chattopadhyaya: *Early History of Northern India*, (Cal. 1958), p. 49.

24 *The Scythian Period of Indian History*, pp. 362 ff.

25 *Journal of American Oriental Society* (1941), p. 240.

and others, quite reasonably establishes the fact that Kujula was either a local governor or a subordinate ally of Hermaues in the region. Most probably this alliance was formed against Gondophernes, who, however, became victorious and annexed the region to his empire.[26] Perhaps, thereafter Kujula Kadphises was allowed to continue as a subordinate ally by Gondophernes as well, and Kujula transferred his allegiance to him. This must have resulted in friendly relationship between the two as pointed out by Konow.[27] This position continued till Gondophernes died, and it was after his death that Kujula got the opportunity of declaring himself independent shortly after 45 A. D. the date of Takht–i Bahi inscription after which Gondophernes is not heard of.[28] This contention is further substantiated by the issue of his coins on the Roman model. Allan has pointed out that Kujula copied the coins of Claudius (A. D. 41-54).[29] It would mean therefore, that Kujula Kadphises's occupation of the Gandhara region was not the result of an armed attack at Peshawar or the region but simply by way of transferring his allegiance from the Greek ruler to the Parthian ruler and finally declaring himself independent in the same territory which was already under his administration. Thus the case for both Kujula Kadphises and Kanishka may be dismissed as far as their alleged armed attack on Peshawar is concerned.

Another alternative, Kidar Kushana, too, could not obviously have been the ruler in question because it was in the fifth century that Kidar Kushana established his rule over Gandhara and Kashmir.[30] And the invasion, as we shall see later in these pages must have taken place by about the middle of the fourth century A.D.

Ultimately therefore, there is no alternative except to agree to the third proposition that the invader of Peshawar may have been the king of the Ephthalites as Giles puts it. In all probability, Fa-hien too might have intended to refer it accordingly. Fa-hien's intention becomes clear when his account of this event is read along with the account of Ceylon particularly when the movement of the Buddha's bowl is pronounced in a prophetic manner by an Indian Buddhist.

26 S. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, (1958), p. 65.
27 *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 294; XVIII (1926), p. 282: *C.I.I.* II, i. 62.
28 S. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, (1958), p. 65.
29 *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 74.
30 H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History oj Ancient India*, (1950), p. 482; Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

Fa-hien heard him saying that Buddha's alms-bowl was originally at Vaishali, it is now in Gandhara. After a great number of years the bowl will be taken to the country of the people (*same people whose ruler invaded Peshawar*) of the 'west'.[31] Notwithstanding the confusion and contradictions in the Chinese accounts, Fa-hien strangely enough has taken special care to distinguish this king-in-question from either the little Yue-chi or Ta-Yue-chi and qualifies him by designating him as the king of the said people belonging to the 'west'. That the Ephthalites with their Iranian and Tokharian affinities were the people of the west has been substantiated by the observations made by Ghirshman, Enoki, Helfen and Buddha Prakash on the basis of their study of the physical features, scripts, language, religion and customs of the Ephthalites. They are in agreement on the point that the Ephthalites were Indo-European, rather than Turks and Mongols.[32] On the basis of available evidence Upendra Thakur observes that the early Hunas were associated with the races of the west rather than with the east.[33] Originally perhaps they were the inhabitants of the south-eastern Aral sea area.[34] Therefore, it appears that Fa-hien had neither the Sakas nor the Kushanas but the Ephthalites in mind when he was narrating the event.

Ephthalite (Hephthalites) and Khionite (Chionites) of the Western Chroniclers are one and the same people, and according to Helfen the Hunas of the Sanskrit work were the Hephthalites.[35] The term is equivalent to the Pehlvi word *Khiyon* and Avestan word *Hyaona*. The rulers of these people are known as 'Hion' from their coins.

They appear on the horizon of the Sassanian empire in the beginning of the fourth century A. D. It has been stated that the eastern frontiers of the kingdom of Shapur II (310–379 A. D.) were threatened by the Chionites from 350 A. D. onwards, who may have been an advance-guard of the Ephthalites, and who were subdued by him before his war with the Romans. According to Ammianus Marcellinus who fought in the Roman army against the Sassanian

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31 H. A. Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

32 Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 310; K. Enoki, 'The Origin of the white Hunas or Hephthalites' *East & West*, Vol. VI, Part III, October 1955, p. 231 ff.

33 *The Hunas in India* (Varanasi, 1967), p. 44.

34 A. Mongait, *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, (Moscow, 1959), p. 272.

35 O. M. Helfen, 'Huns and the Hsiung-nu' *Byzantion* (1944–45) Vol. XVII, pp. 230-231.

monarch in the war of Amida in 359 A.D., the Chionites fought on the side of Shapur II, under the command of Grumbates.[36]

The foundation of the Hephthalite kingdom was laid during Shapur II's reign, because *T'ung–t'ien* of the Chinese writer Tu-yu tells us that the empire of the Hephthalites was established eighty or ninety years prior to the reign of emperor Wen-ch'eng (457–465 A.D.) of the Toba Wei dynasty. Hence, the date of the establishment of the empire would fall within 366–376 A. D. In this connection it may be mentioned that *'Acts of the Martyrs of Edessa'* noted them under the name of Hephthalites in 384 A.D. for the first time.

The above-mentioned facts get further confirmation on the basis of numismatic evidence, which reveal the name of two rulers of the Hephthalites, one Kutulph *Hion* and the other Hephthal *Saho Hion* both imitating the crown of Shapur II[37] on their respective coins. There is again one Hephthal who according to Paruck copied the crown design of Yazdegird I (399-429 A.D.).[38] If the two Hephthals mentioned above are one and the same person, as it appears, it would mean that Kutulph preceded Hephthal and the latter assumed royal title *Saho* also. There are certain other coins which reveal that Hephthal was the name of at least three rulers and *Hion* was their surname.[39] It is not unlikely that it was after the name of Hephthal I who adopted the royal title *Saho* and thus perhaps assumed an independent status, that the whole tribe or family came to be known as Hephthalites, since he was the real founder of the greatness of Huna supremacy.

Regarding the Ephthalite march towards Peshawar it may be stated that perhaps between 359 and 363 A. D. or a little later when Shapur II was busy in his wars[40] on the western frontiers, Kutulph, a subordinate ally of Shapur II and a predecessor of Hepthal I took the opportunity of invading Peshawar, the country of their traditional enemy, the Kushanas, whom they had ousted earlier from Bactria. This is substantiated further by the fact that his two coins were found

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36 Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan*, (London, 1940), p. 174.

37 F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, p. 350.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 361.

39 Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 303; Upendra Thakur: *op. cit.*, p. 47.

40 P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, (London 1915), pp. 449–457.

from the stupa at Hedda,[41] which in the words of Fa-hien was only 16 *yojanas* to the west of Peshawar. Thus the invader of Peshawar was in all probability Kutulph. This position was later consolidated by Hephthal I who might have started his independent career between 366–376 A. D. with a probable margin on the earlier side flouting the overlordship of Shapur II. The best opportunity for the purpose was perhaps provided in 367–68 A. D. when Shapur II was in trouble. The Armenian historian Faustos of Byzantium records that the Kushanas defeated Shapur II in 367–68 A. D. twice and on one occasion forced him to fly from the battlefield[41].

In the light of these facts it is quite reasonable to suppose that, when Samudragupta was reigning supreme on the Indian sub-continent, there were three main powers, vig., Shapur II, the Sassanian ruler, Hepthal I, the Hepthalite ruler, and the Kushana ruler (identity not yet settled), on the north-western frontiers of the Gupta empire. If studied in this background, then we may perhaps provide a reasonable explanation for the compound word '*Devaputra Shahi Shahanushah* of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, which is still a puzzle. Fleet[42] rightly split this word into three parts each denoting a separate ruler. Allan[43] and Aiyangar[44] also believed in the three ruler theory–but three Kushana rulers. Bhandarkar,[45] R. D. Banerji[46] R. C. Majumdar[47] and H. C. Raychaudhuri[48] believe in a single Kushana ruler theory. V. Smith,[49] however, identifies him with Grumbates, the Hephthalite ruler. S. R. Goyal[50] identifies *devaputra shahi* with Kidar Kushana and *Shahanushahi* with Shapur II. We may suggest here that *devaputra* stood for a Kushana ruler, *Shahi* for Hephthal I, the Hephthalite ruler and *Shahanushahi* for Shapūr II, the

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41 A Cunningham, 'Later Indo-Scythians' *Numismatic Chronicle* (1894), p. 276, Plate VII.

42 M. F. C. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 32

43 Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 14.

44 J. Allan, *Calalogue of the Coin in the British Museum* (BMCGD), p. 26.

45 S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History & Culture*, Vol. I, (Poona, 1941), p. 226.

46 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, I, p. 259.

47 *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, (Banaras, 1933), p. 24.

48 *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, (Lahore 1946), p. 547.

49 *op. cit.*, p. 547.

50 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1897), p. 32.

Sassanian ruler. Here a word may be said in support of our contention. According to Firdausi,[51] the Hephthalite ruler who helped Pheros (457–484 A.D.), the son and successor of Yezdigird II, was Farghanah. He is spoken of as the Shah (of) Haital and also as Chagani *Shahi* in the same work. He has been identified with Toramana by Modi[52] but in our opinion he was perhaps Hephthal II, who according to Ghirshman copied the crown type of Yezdigird II; or may have been even Hephthal III.[53] As pointed out earlier, these rulers adopted *saho* as royal title on their coins. It is the same title which was adopted later by Mihirakula in his inscriptions found at Uruzgan.[54] Toramana however, in his Kera inscription adopts *Shahi* as his royal title[55]. Thus we can see that *Shahi* in Kera inscription and in the narrative of Firdausi is the same as *Saho* of the coins of Hephthals as well as *Saho* of Mihirakula's inscriptions from Uruzgan. Therefore it is not unreasonable to equate *Shahi* of the Allahabad Pillar inscription with the royal title *Saho* of the Hephthalite ruler Hephthal I.

If this view is accepted, it would mean that Samudra Gupta tried to maintain a sort of balance of power amongst the three rulers of the north-west frontier region, treating them almost on equal footing. In other words it can also be implied that he was maintaining friendly relationship with even the Huna ruler, who was well established by now in the Peshawar region.

Subsequently, Chandra Gupta II adopted a policy towards these frontier states which perhaps initiated the Gupta–Huna hostility and which ultimately had disastrous consequences for the Imperial Guptas. There was a drift in Chandra Gupta II's foreign policy in favour of the Sassanian monarchs which may have antagonised the Hunas. From the Pehlavi work *Karunamak-i Ardashir-Papakan*, we learn that Ardashir was connected with the Indian king Kaid, identified with Chandra Gupta II.[56] According to *Shah Nama*[57] Ardashir sent an envoy of

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51 *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, (Allahabad, 1969), p. 177.

52 T. Macans (ed.), *Shahnama of Firdausi*, Vol. III, p. I589.

53 J. J. Modi, *The Early History of the Hunas*, JBBORAS, Vol. XXIV (1916-17), p. 586.

54 Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

55 A. D. H. Bivar: JRAS (1954), pp. 112-118.

56 *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 239 ff; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 298 ff.

57 Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

high family to Kaid with many steeds with gold and silk of China. Ardashir II succeeded Shapur II in 379 A. D., about the same time when Chandra Gupta II succeeded Samudra Gupta (380 A. D.). In these circumstances it is understandable that Ardashir II thought of establishing diplomatic contacts with him and with this end in view sent an embassy to his court.[58] Another Sassanian ruler who was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II was Shapur III (383–388) A. D.

With the rising power of Hephthal I as indicated earlier, on the eastern frontiers of the Sassanian empire it is quite likely that the expedition of Chandra Gupta II to the north-west 'crossing the seven mouths of river Indus[60]', may have been just to render help to a friendly neighbour against the Hunas. It may not have been an attempt to make fresh conquest by 'Chandra' the Indian monarch.[59] Chandra Gupta II's expedition against the Hunas is also supported by the Indian literary sources[61]. The account of the north–western conquest of Raghu given by Kalidasa has been equated with the account of the conquest by King Chandra of Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription[62]. The consensus of scholarly opinion is in favour of identifying this Chandra with Chandra Gupta II. This establishes the fact that Chandra Gupta II led an expedition to the north-west against the Hunas.

If this campaign by Chandra Gupta II to assist the Sassanian monarch was on a largescale it must have caused a great economic strain on the Gupta resources with no profit. Moreover, it also turned the Hunas hostile towards the Guptas with disastrous consequences at a later stage. These factors then would have further significance for the study of Gupta history.

By implication it would also mean that the early Huna ruler Kutulph was also influenced by Buddhism, and built stupas and monasteries at Peshawar as described by Fa-hien, and therefore may be counted among the line of other foreigners like Menander, Maues,

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58 Macan, *op. cit.*, p. 1397.
59 Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
60 *C. I. I.*, III, No. 32, p. 140.
61 S. R. Goyal, *op. cit.*, p. 277. We, however, do not agree with him when he identifies king Chandra of Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription with Samudra Gupta, *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 201-209.
62 *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 67-68.

Gondophernes, Kujula Kadphises and Kanishka, who have their places in the history of Buddhism.

Martin[63] and recently Goyal[64] have rightly pointed out that the account of Fa-hien is a conclusive and positive evidence, though so often overlooked for the invasion of Gandhara by the white Hunas prior to the middle of the fifth century A.D. In our view the evidence definitely controverts the theory which attempts to prove that the Hunas became a political factor in the history of India only during and after the period of Skanda Gupta (455–467 A. D.)[65]. It is also in complete consonance with the Chinese, Roman and Indian literary accounts as well as with the numismatic evidence.

63 Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

64 *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

65 *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

66 Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 31; J. J. Modi, *op. cit.*, pp. 580 ff.

The Travails of Foreign Journey between Eastern India and China in the Ancient and Early Medieval Periods

BY

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

By the overland route

Merchants who went to foreign countries by the land-route to sell their commodities had often to face various difficulties on the way. The *Jātakas* refer to five principal dangers in travelling, such as dangers from robbers, wild beasts, drought, demons and famine.[1] It has been stated that the robbers were well-armed with bows, clubs and other weapons; they looted everything, unless the travellers were vigilant and protected by armed men.[2] This necessitated the people to move in company and the merchants in caravans. Besides robbers, eating of poisonous fruits has also been listed as one of the potent causes for death of many traders.[3] The lack of good water, fuel, oil and rice for men and fodder for animals has also been adduced as additional reasons for disaster in journey to foreign lands. So the caravans had always to be well provided with food and other daily necessaries for the maintenance of life.[4] In crossing deserts, the travellers had to rest during the day and move by nights.[5] The leader of the caravan (*satthavaha*), with his knowledge of the stars, led the party in the right direction.[6] An interesting description of such a party is provided in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭ-śalākāpuruṣacarita*.[7] It has been stated in this work that a rich merchant of the town of Kṣitipratiṣṭha, Dhana by name decided to organise a caravan for trading purposes. He invited other merchants by beat of drums and provided the needy ones among them with merchandise, conveyance, etc. High born ladies then performed auspicious rites and caravan then

1 *Jātaka* I, p. 99.

2 *Ibid* I, pp. 103, 332-33; V, pp. 22, 471; *Kathākoṣa* (Tawney), p. 207, etc. *Cf.* also *Suvṛttatilaka* of Kṣemendra, ed. Dhundhiraja Sastri Benares, 1933, p. 1 (II. 20), etc.

3 *Phala Jātaka* (No. 54).

4 *Jātaka* I, pp. 101, 107; II, pp. 294–95.

5 *Jātaka* I, p. 107.

6 *Ibid*, p. 108.

7 Ed. Johnson, Vol. I. pp. 7 ff.

moved forward to its destination with horses, carts, camels, oxen, buffaloes, mules, donkeys, etc. The caravan was surrounded, on all sides by armed people. In summer, the party took occasional rest on account of heat, but during the rains, water, thorns, mud and other difficulties made the routes impassable and the party had to encamp till the routes again became ready for use. Villagers sometimes looked askance at stray travellers who were not always welcome. A typical example is furnished in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodara,[8] in which a traveller, exhausted from a long journey, with layers of dust on the body, is greeted with rebukes from villagers. He visits hundreds of houses, but he is often taken to be a thief in disguise and is ultimately reduced to the position of a beggar.

Other types of difficulties for travellers by the overland route have been narrated by the author of the *Mahāniddesa*, a Pāli work, while offering comments on the word "torment" (parikissati) of the *Suttanipāta*. Internal evidence indicates that the work was composed in the second or third century A. D. It describes the rightful experience of the adventurers[9] who travelled in foreign lands in search of wealth. During such journeys, the traveller often stepped into difficult terrain, of which a list has been furnished in the *Mahāniddesa*. The list covers 34 names. Regarding these names, the *Saddhammappajjotikā*, the commentary on the *Mahāniddesa*,[10] states: "The twenty-four words from Gumba to Marukāntāra are names of countries. Marukāntāra is a land of sand." The ten extra-ordinary routes of the list referred to at the end from nos. 25 to 35 have partly been explained by the *Saddhammappajjotikā* and partly by the occurrence of some of these terms in the story of the merchant Sānudāsa narrated in the *Bṛhat-Kathā-Śloka-Saṁgraha*. In the light of these references, the extra-ordinary routes referred to above may be explained thus :

(1) Jaṇṇupatha = the road of knees i. e. the route on which one has to crawl.
(2) Ajapatha = the road of goats.
(3) Meṇḍhapatha = the road of sheep.
(4) Śaṅkupatha = The road of stakes.
(5) Chattapatha = The road of umbrellas.
(6) Vaṁśapatha = The road of bamboos.

8 Ed. M. Kaul; Tr. Powys Mathers, 1927, verses 218–28.
9 S. Levi in *Etudes Asiatiques* II, pp. 1–55, 431.
10 Siamese edition I, p. 347.

(7) Śakunapatha = The road of birds.
(8) Mūṣikapatha = The road of mice.
(9) Daripatha = The road of caves.
(10) Vetrapatha = The road of creepers.

It is interesting to note that some of these routes have also been mentioned in the ancient grammatical literature of India. Patañjali, while commenting on sūtra V. I. 77 of Pāṇini, quotes from the vārtika of Kātyāyana: "*ajapatha-śaṅkupāthābhyāmca*" i. e. "also in regard to (a person who passes) and also in regard to (merchandise imported) by ajapatha and śaṅkupatha, (the derivatives ajapathika and śaṅkukathika are formed)". The use of the term "ca" in Pāṇini signifies that it includes not only the merchandise but also the merchant who passes by that way. The vārtika signifies the flow of men and materials by the routes of goats and snakes.

Some of these unusual routes have also been referred to in the *Vimānavatthu*,[11] the *Tittira Jātakā*,[12] the *Milindapañha*,[13], the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*[14] the *Matsyāpurāṇa*,[15] etc. *The Bṛhatkathā* now treats us to an interesting story describing the adventures of the gold-hungry merchants along routes referred to in the above-mentioned texts. The story runs thus:[16]

"Sānudāsa joins the gang of the adventurer Ācera, who is preparing an expedition to the land of gold (Suvaṇṇabhūmi). They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers (*vetra*). This is the "creeper path" (*vetrapatha*). On the plateau, there is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it.[17] They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which over-

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11 LXXXIV.
12 III. 541.
13 Ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *S. B. E.* Vol. XXXV, p. 280.
14 Ch. 47, v. 54.
15 Ch. 121, v. 56.
16 These have been discussed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* I, pp. 59 ff.
17 The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to such touch-rivers. It has been stated that when a traveller reached such rivers, he found sometimes on either banks of the river *kīcaka*-bamboos. The river was turbulent and could not be crossed, because, if a man touched its water, he was petrified. Only when the bamboos inter-laced, they could help the travellers to go from one bank of the river to the other. Similar references to touch-stone rivers are also to be found in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 5.1.1858, Cal. edition).

hang the banks. This is the "bamboos' path" (*vamśaptha*). Further on they meet a narrow path between two precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some kirāt, who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on those goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to follow the narrow edge without feeling giddy. This is "the goats' path" (*ajapatha*). The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues, but Ācera's troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sānudāsa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold-seekers. Ācera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds will mistake those men for a heap of raw meat and carry them away to their aerie. It is there the gold is! Sānudāsa attempts to save the goat he was riding but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Acera had foretold, but the bird which carries off Sānudāsa is attacked by another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat's skin bursts open and Sānudāsa falls in a tank which is in the heart of a luxuriant forest. The next day he comes to a river the bank of which are of golden sand; near by, there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out."

The story thus offers an illuminating commentary on the significance of the terms ajapatha, vamśapatha, śakunapatha; the meṇḍhapatha is thus to be explained in the same way as ajapatha, substituting sheep for goat. The vetrapatha mentioned as no. 34 on the list referred to above seems to correspond to *vettadhara* or *vettācāra* of other works. The commentator has explained *jaṇṇupatha* as the way in which one has to crawl on all fours. The *chattapatha* or umbrella-way has been described by the commentator as the road in which one has to jump down from the precipice with an open parasol (*Chatta* = *Chatra*) made of skin, which opens out, as it descends slowly to the ground, on account of the resistance of air. The Commentary gives a long explanatory note regarding śaṅkupatha, ascent in which is, in principle, somewhat similar to mountaineering today. In this, a man ascending on steep mountains has to use an iron hook attached to a rope of skin. The hook is thrown up till it is fixed up on the mountain side. Then he climbs up with the assistance of the rope, makes a hole on the hill-side with a diamond-tipped iron instrument and plants a spear in the hole. Having caught hold of this, he detaches the hook and throws it up again till it is again fixed up in the hill-side. Then he ties the rope to the spear and having caught hold of the rope with one hand strikes it by a hammer with the

other till the spear is detached. Then he climbs up again, again fixes spear and repeats the process till he reaches his destination.

The significance of the *mūṣikapatha* it uncertain, but *darīpatha* seems to be tunnel, either existing or made by the gold-seekers. In any case, many of these mountain-routes were not well-organised in the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history. The danger from robbers always lurked in the difficult lonely terrain. Fahien does not of course, complain of robber in his travels, but Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim, was twice molested by them.[18] Similar was the misfortune of I-tsing. He says in one place,[19] "It is important to go in a company of several men and never to proceed alone......(on one occasion), late in the day, when the sun was about to set some mountain-brigands made their appearance, drawing bow and shouting aloud....First they stripped me of my upper robes, and then took off my under-garments. All the straps and girdles that were with me they snatched away also.... Besides there was a rumour in the country of the West (India) that when they took a white man, they killed him to offer a sacrifice to heaven." On way back to Tāmralipti, I-tsing was again confronted by robbers.

There were also other kinds of terrors for the superstitious travellers of the early days. In the early part of the 7th century A. D., when the Tibetan king Srong-tsan-Gampo sent seven of his young, intelligent officers to India to study the art of reading and writing, they began to lose heart even before crossing the Himalayas. It has been stated that "the fear of three kinds of demons, viz., evil spirits, deadly fevers and wild animals including poisonous snakes that abounded there made them to retrace their steps homewards." Similar details are furnished in the writings of Yuan Chwang about travails of the journey to the East beyond the Puṇḍravardhana Kāmarūpa route. He says that the terrain to the East of Kāmarūpa is a series of hills and hillocks without any principal town and that although the route to the South-West borders of Szechwan was about to months' journey, "the mountains and rivers were hard to pass, there were pestilential vapours and poisonous snakes and herbs. In the South-East of Kāmarūpa, wild elephants ravaged the terrain in herds."[20] The same traveller, while travelling in Samataṭa in Bengal, referred also to the countries of Śrīkṣetra, Kamalaṅkā, Dvāra-

18 Beal, *The Life*, pp. 60 ff., 73 ff., 86, 198 ff.

19 Tr. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. XXXI–XXXIII.

20 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India II*, p. 186.

vathī, Iśānapura, Mahācampā and Yamanadvipa, lying in South-East Asia.[21] Bengal had link-routes with some of these countries but, according to the pilgrim, "these six countries are so hemmed in by mountains and rivers that they are inaccessible; but their limits and the character of the people and the country could be learnt by enquiry."

Regarding the hazards of the journey in this region and its neighbourhood, more informative is the Glossary of Hui-lin[22], whose work goes back, according to the admission of Hui-lin himself, to sources contained in the old geography named *Kua-ti-chih*, composed in 642 A. D., thus at the very time when Yuan Chwang was travelling in India. Regarding the route between India and China by the North-Eastern passages, the hazards have been described in the text thus:[23] "In mid-summer, it is impassable because of the heat, diseases and poisonous insects. Few of those who have met (these dangers) survived. In autumn, it is impassable because the rivers are swollen through heavy rain. And in winter, climbing the slopes is difficult, because snow collects and the cold is severe, though poisonous animals are absent. A suitable time for travel are only the first three months of the year (middle of February to middle of April). Besides, one needs interpreters for a number of tribal languages and has to carry goods along in order to pay for transit. As one relies on the local guides, one has to go here and there seeking information in order to make sure that one will reach his destination. For the mountains are dangerous and without roads it is difficult to find a path through. . . ."

According to this testimony from the middle of the 7th century A. D., the mountains have been described as dangerous "and without roads" by a Chinese author and the difficulties of the journey through impassable mountain-terrain have again been endorsed in Tibetan accounts. I have already referred to the despatch of seven officers to India by the Tibetan king Srong-tsan Gampo, who wanted to strengthen Tibetan Buddhism, but the weak-nerved officers, daunted by the "fear of three kinds of demons" retraced their steps homewards.[24] Although

21 *Ibid*, pp. 187 ff.

22 E. Chavannes, *Memories sur les religieux eminents qui allaient chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident*, Paris, 1894 p. 82, note. The Glossary was finished in A. D. 817.

23 The latest translation of the text has been made by Liebenthal in *JGIS*, XV (1956), p. 10.

24 S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (1965) p. 49.

the details of the journey of Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava and Kamalaśīla to Tibet through the hazardous routes of the Himalayas are not adequately known, these routes continued to be difficult, because, some three centuries later, when Lha Lams Yes'e hod, king of Tibet, sent a scholar with hundred attendants to India, the scholar reported to Atīśa Dipaṅkara that "he was come from the country of Himavat thus far to Vikramaśīla, undergoing immense privations, spending much treasure and suffering the loss of many of his companions who died of heat, fever, snakebite and other causes."[25] It is also well-known that robbers also beset the path of travellers[26] and Atīśa Dīpaṅkara himself had to confront some of them on his way to Tibet.[27] The misfortunes of Bakhtiyar Khalji in the gorges, rivers and mountain defiles on way to Tibet in the early part of the thirteenth century have been described in detail in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* and have become almost classic and need not be recapitulated here.[28] The story may serve as a typical illustration of the hazards of land-journey in foreign lands through Bengal in the ancient period.

II

In the Bay of Bengal and South-East Asian Seas.

The difficulties of journey by sea were by no means less severe, but sea-voyage was becoming increasingly popular on account of the recurring disturbances on the overland route between China and North-eastern India on the one hand and between North-eastern India, Himalayan kingdoms and China on the other. It is true that the seas were not always inviting either, as the passengers always hovered between life and death, riches or disaster, liberty or slavery. As the mariners had neither compass nor sextant in the early days of navigation, the sailors could not always determine the position of their boats in relation to their destination and had always to sail from one shore-landmark to another. In cloudy weather, the dangers increased hundredfold; they could not study the position of the stars and could therefore be carried astray or get foundered upon coral reefs, supposed to be "hidden trees."

25 *Ibid*, p. 57.
26 *Ibid*, p. 60.
27 *Ibid*, p. 74; A. Chattopadhyaya, *Atīśa and Tibet*, pp. 316–7.
28 (Tr.) Ellot and Dowson *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* (2nd ed.), p. 61.

The *Divyāvadāna*, dating from the second century A. D. states[1] that dangers from sea-voyages arise from (1) the whales and tortoises (2) from the waves and tides (3) from running aground (4) from sinking in water (5) from being struck on the marine rocks (6) from monsoons and (7) from the pirates. Indeed, the *Jātakas* which generally date from pre-Christian centuries abound in stories of shipwrecks during the sea-voyage on account of one or the other reasons stated above.[2] The *Sussuṇḍi Jātaka*, for insurance, refers to *makaras* (crocodiles) and huge leviathans swallowing up whole ships.[3] A graphic description regarding the attacks by huge whales in the Arabian Sea has been narrated by Diodorus (c. 50 B. C.)[4] in connection with the return-journey of Alexander's sailors.

Apart from physical perils on the sea, sea-voyage was not looked upon with approbation by the ancient Indian law-givers. Manu[5] and Baudhāyana,[6] for instance, prescribe disabilities for Brāhmaṇas who took to sea-faring. Baudhāyana, in fact, has placed such voyages at the head of *pataniyānī* (acts of pollution) and prescribed a penance of three years for the offenders. But this injunction does not appear to have been generally applicable to the Brāhmaṇas of the North.[7] J. Filliozat has drawn our attention to the fact that the *Mṛgendrāgama*, an ancient Sanskrit text, permits sea-voyages for conquest or profit and prescribes the use of a bright flame for the rites.[8] But neither social disabilities or ostracism nor dangers of the sea deterred the travellers from crossing the seas.

Practical mariners, for their part, took necessary precautions for sailing across the boundless ocean. Some references to such measures are recorded in ancient Indian literature. In the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, for, example, there is a passage in the Kavaddha Sutta of

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1 p. 220.

2 *Jātaka* II, pp. 111, 127–29; V. 75 etc. *Jātaka* no. 196 speaks of a ship-wreck at Tambaṇṇidīpa.

3 *Jātaka* III, pp. 167–90.

4 R. C. Majumdar. *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 186.

5 III. 158.

6 *Dharmasūtra* II. 1.41.

7 *Ibid* I, 1; II. 4 and Coedes, *The Indianized States of South-East Asia*, p. 274, note 101.

8 N. R. Bhatt, *Mṛgendrāgama*, publ. de l' Institut Francais d'Indologie, 3 and Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 269, note 27.

the *Dīgha*, where we read the Buddha saying, "Long ago ocean-going merchants were wont to plunge forth upon the sea on board a ship, taking with them a shore-sighting bird. When a ship was out of sight of land, they would set the shore-sighting bird free. And it would go to the East, South, West and North and to intermediate points and rise aloft. In the horizon, it caught sight of land, thither it would go, but if not, it would come back to the ship again."[9] Such birds were called *tīradassī sakuna* (i.e. crows or birds indicating the shore) and *disākāka* (direction-giving crow).[10] Similar references are recorded by Pliny[11] in regard to Taprobane (Ceylon). This was while no physical harm was caused to the ship, but in other cases, where every precaution failed and the ship was about to sink the cleverer people used to stuff themselves with sugar and butter, oiled their robes and then plunged into the sea,[12] perhaps such practical means of keeping afloat on the sea was evolved after long periods of trial and error.[13]

Now, such literary references are also supported by representations in sculptural art. It may be recalled in this connexion that scene no. 85 in the bas-relief at Bhārhut shows how one "Vasugupta is brought ashore being rescued from the grip of Timiṅgila" (Tiram(h)i timigila kuchimha, vasugupo mochito mahādevānaṃ).[14] There are also a few other examples from Indian sculptural art. In later times, Arabic sources also tell us of stories of maritime horrors of various types and dimensions, such as those relating to the magnetic mountain, with its man of copper which wrecked ships by drawing nails out of their hulls; ships being overturned by huge fish, apparently hinting at large-size whales in the Indian Ocean; cannibal islands; spouts and eddies destroying ships, not to speak of evil spirits who used their spell to prevent the mariners from reaching their destination. To the Arab sea-farers. therefore, the blessing of Allah was still their chief defence, even as Avalokiteśvara was to Fahien and other Buddhist travellers and

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9 Rhys Davids. *JRAS* 1899 p. 432.

10 *Dīgha Nikāya* I, 222; *Jātaka* III, 126, 267 and *Bāveru Jātaka* (no. 339).

11 R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

12 Such cases have been narrated in the *Śaṅkhajātaka*, *Mahājana-jātaka*, as well as in the *Maṇimekalai, a Divinity of the Sea*, by S. Levi. in *IHQ* VI (1930), also reprinted in *Memorial Sylvain Levi* (Paris, 1937).

13 Basham, *Art and Letters* XXIII (1949), p. 61.

14 B. M. Barua, *Bhārhut* I, p. 63.

Gaṇeśa to Hindu passengers in the earlier and later centuries. B. M. Barua[15] has therefore rightly laid stress on the fact that, for religious-minded people, escape from the hazards of sea-veyages could be possible only through *satyakriyā* i.e. exercise of the power of truthfulness, taking the name of the Supreme Deity, performance of meritorious acts, faith in God, the intervention of Gaṇeśa, maṇimekalai or some such deities besides the exercise of one's own intelligence and skill.

In any case, the raids by pirates and storms in the sea were, until the invention of steam power, the most powerful agencies for the destruction of sailing vessels. There were several conditions promoting the incidence of piracy in the Indian Ocean for many centuries. Productive but defenceless coasts have always invited pirates' depredations; the traffic along regular sea-routes with prosperous emporia at way-side ports has been the special targets of attack. Nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life, with inter-tribal feuds and tradition of raiding led many to adopt a pirate's life· If the home-base was comparatively safe and without any pretension to organised government, the sailors of defeated navies or ships, fleeing slaves, the survivors of defeated armies and, in some cases, political exiles have drifted into the ranks of pirates.

In addition to economic gains, head-hunting and cannibalism have also played a great role in the piracy on the seas. The pirates had other advantages also. The cargo-boats, always bulky and slow-moving, could hardly prevail against the swift-moving boats of the pirates, unless the former were in good numbers and protected by archers. In this way, the coastal belt of the Indian and the Pacific Oceans lying between Babelmandeb and Canton, not to speak of the regions stretching beyond, was cruelly subjected to piratical raids since the dawn of navigation and commercial enterprise. In the Arabian Sea, the most notorious pirates in Roman times were of Jewish origin hailing from Jaffa, Cilicia and Isauria in the eastern tracts of Asia Minor and very often companies of archers had to be carried on board "because the Indian seas are infested by pirates."[16] There are several descriptions in the *Periplus* about piracy on the Arabian coast. The same are applicable to the Arakanese coasts and areas in the Malayan waters with minor variations in other coastal areas of the Bay of Bengal. Pliny also says in the same strain.[17]

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15 *Ibid.*
16 R. C. Majumdar. *op. cit.*, p. 338.
17 *Ibid*, pp. 338, 339.

The picture presented in South-East Asia was also substantially similar. In fact, piracy in the coastal belt of the Malayan Seas is, in the language of Sopher, "as old as the history of trade in that area and has recurred so persistently that it may almost be considered as an unavoidable concomitant of sea-trade." The curving land beaches and rocky headlands of Johore, where food resources are meagre, the two hundred miles of Rhizophora and Nipa forests on the margin of the Sumatran coast facing the Riouw-Lingga islands, constituted flourishing rendezvous for the pirates in modern times and may be held to be a replica of the situation for the ancient period as well, at least in a substantial way. Besides the Singapore-route, other sea-lanes and large entrepots like Phuket, Palembang, Brunei, the ports of the Mekong Delta and Manila became the targets of piratical depredations at various epochs of history. The main arc of piracy extends from the Strait of Malacca in the West to the Northern coasts of Borneo, the Sulu area and the coast of Mindanao. The embayed low-lying coast of North-eastern Borneo/Kalamantan and the hill-fringed East coast of South-eastern Celebes were particularly notorious for many centuries. The pirates of Borneo are known to have, in recorded history, preyed upon sailors as far as Nias, Simulue and Siberut.[18] In order therefore to avoid the hazards of traffic by the Straits, traders very often preferred to follow the transhipment route athwart the Malay Peninsula running between Takua Pa and Tambraliṅga (Caiya district) and that between the Trang river and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat on the Bay of Bandon.[19] When some of these islands adopted the Islamic faith, additional motive factors were killing the infidels and the merit of plundering. Those who were not killed were usually captured for sale as slaves.

If the nineteenth century experience of piratical raids on the Indonesian coasts be any guide, it would appear that the coastal settlements, unless these were located in strongly defended areas, as at Singapore in the late middle ages, were abandoned for secure places in the interior and concentration of scattered habitations took shape in stronger agglomerations, as in the Anambas Group, the Banggai Islands or the Mergui Archipelago.[20] The coral settlements failing to adopt these precautionary measures felt the full brunt of such piratical raids. The *musim merompak* or the pirate season on the East coast of Malaya

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18 Sopher, *The Sea Nomads*, p. 161.

19 Vide in this connecxion, Wales in *Indian Arts and Letters* IX, no. 1. (1935) pp. 22–23 and *Towards Angkor*, pp. 51–68.

20 For these details vide Sopher, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

was at its apex between June and September, but in the West coast and the Mergui Archipelagi the raiders revelled during the months from November to April. It has been observed in regard to the Lingga pirate fleet that "their customary annual itinerary was to sail with the West monsoon of the Java Sea at the end of the year through the Sunda Straits, along the inhospitable South coast of Java and some of the islands beyond; then through one of the Straits between the islands, to return with the East monsoon along the lucrative coast of Java, and home by Bangka and Palembang." In North Borneo, the Sea Dayaks of North-West Sarawak also undertook similar piratical excursions as late as the first half of the 19th century. This practice about 125 years back was apparently a replica of what the sea pirates of the ancient period did.

One of the earliest reports regarding the hazards of voyages in South-East Asian seas is to be found in the *Han Shu*, which is a record of the Han dynasty. Its author was Pan Ku. Writing about the conditions around A. D. 80, the author says: "The merchant ships of the barbarians are used to transfer them (the Chinese) to their destination. The barbarians also profit by the trade and by plundering and killing people. Moreover, (the Chinese travellers) must face the hazards of wind and wave, and may die by drowning. More who do not die take many years to go and come back."[21]

Ptolemy writing about sixty or seventy years after Pan Ku, but probably drawing upon the experience of previous travellers refers to man-eaters of the "five Barousai islands and the three Sabadibai Islands.". It is likely therefore that when the Indians started for for Iabadieu, there were at least some tribes in these islands practising cannibalism. The Barousai islands obviously refer to Sanskrit Barusaka and Fansur of the Arab geographers. It corresponds to Barus in the North-western sector of Sumatra, the exact location possibly being between Atjeh Head and Diamond Point. The position in the next century did not improve at all. In fact, K'ang T'ai, writing in the middle of the third century A. D., refers to the prevalence of cannibalism in the *T'ai p'ing yu lan:*

" (K'ang T'ai's) Fu-nan t'u Su chuan. East of Chu-li are the P'u-lo-chung people. They have all tails 5 or 6 ts'un long. Their

21 Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade*, p. 20 in the *JRAS* (*Mal. Br.*), XXXI (1958), pt. II

custom is to eat men. I note that this place (P'u-lo-chung) and also the South-western P'u-lo are probably place-names of the Mei-(tailed) p'u."[22] If we leave aside the credulity of K'ang T'ai about men having tails, the place P'u-lo doubtless existed as a geographical entity and some scholars have identified it with the same as Pu-lo or P'o-lu, a shortened transcription of Barus. Wolters thinks it to be a place located in Northern Sumatra.[23]

K'ang T'ai also says in another place that the people of P'i-ch'ien ate up traders. The location of this State is not certain, but Braddell thought that it might have lain in the South-eastern coast of Sumatra,[24] but Heine-Geldern[25] and Wolters[26] respectively placed it in the northern coast of Sumatra and in the hinterland of Funan. The last view appears to me eminently reasonable in view of the fact that the language of P'i-ch'ien was only "a little different from that of Fu-nan," which signifies that it should be in the vicinity of Funan.

The most famous account given by K'ang T'ai about piracy in the coast of Funan however refers to the encounter between Hun-t'ien i.e. Kauṇḍinya and the queen of Funan named Liu-ye or Willow Leaf. Kauṇḍinya, who was an adventurer from India, directed by his personal genie, boarded a ship which proceeded towards Funan. The Willow-Leaf lady wanted to pillage the ship and capture it, but was defeated only to become the queen of the victor.[27] From the viewpoint of the discussion we have made, the interest of the story lies in the fact that in the first century A. D., when this episode is reported by K'ang T'ai to have occurred, tribal chiefs also participated in the highly profitable job of pillaging ships coming by way of the sea.

Nearer home, in the Bay of Bengal, the depredations of the pirates had been quite brisk in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. References to them as well as hurricane in the sea occur in the travels

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22 Discussion on the text by Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 182.
23 The location of the places has been elaborately discussed by Wolters *op. cit.* pp. 182–193.
24 *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography* 9 (1956), pp. 1-20.
25 *BEFEO*, 49, 2 (1959) pp. 361–404.
26 *op. cit.*, 259–60.
27 *Pelliot, Quelques Textes Chinois concernant i'Indochine hindouisee*, in *Et. As.*, II (1925) pp. 246–49; Coedes, *The Indianized States*, p. 37 B. R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, pp. 2-3.

of Fahien[28], who himself passed through the ordeals of sea-storm both in the Bay of Bengal and the South China Seas in course of his journey from Ceylon to China. Regarding the first lap of his voyage across the Bay, we read:

"He took passage (from Ceylon) on board a large merchant-vessel, on which there were over two hundred souls, and astern of which there was a smaller vessel in tow, in case of accident at sea and destruction of the big vessel. Catching a fair wind, they sailed eastward for 2 days; then they encountered a heavy gale, and the vessel sprang a leak. The merchants wished to get aboard the smaller vessel, but the men on the latter, fearing that they would be swamped by numbers quickly cut the tow-rope in two. The merchants were terrified, for death was close at hand; and fearing that the vessel would fill, they promptly took what bulky goods there were and threw them into the sea. Fa-hien also took his pitcher and ewer, with whatever else he could spare, and threw them into the sea; but he was afraid that the merchants would throw over his books and his images, and accordingly he fixed his whole thoughts upon Kuan-yin, the Hearer of Prayers, and put his life into the hands of the Catholic Church in China, saying, "I have journeyed far on behalf of the Faith. Oh that by your awful power you would grant me a safe return from my wanderings."[29]

After 13 days' and nights' travel, they came to the Island and stopped the leak. Fahien further continues his narrative about the hazards of the sea, which are so realistic and majestic in description. He says:

"The sea is infested with pirates, to meet whom is death. The expanse of the ocean is boundless, East and West are not distinguishable; only by observations of the Sun, Moon and constellations, is progress to be made. In cloudy and rainy weather, our vessel drifted at the mercy of the wind, without keeping any definite course. In the darkness of night, nothing was to be seen but the great waves beating upon one another and flashing forth light like fire, huge turtles, sea lizards, and such like monsters of the deep. Then the merchants lost heart, not knowing whither they were going, and the sea being deep

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28 For a study of his journey in the Bay of Bengal and the South China Seas, vide H. B. Sarkar in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, 47 (1969) pp. 1 ff.

29 Giles, (Tr.) *The Travels of Fahien*, pp. 76 ff.

without bottom, they had no place where they could cast their stone-anchor and stop. When the sky had cleared, they were able to tell East from West and again to proceed on their proper course; but had they struck a hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape."[30]

Fahien has thus given a vivid pen-picture of the nature of hazards of sea-voyage in the boundless ocean. Now, many scholars have commented on the time when the journey was undertaken and a good summary of it has been given by Wheatley.[31] We read here:

" In April the onset of the South-West monsoon is heralded by westerly winds which develop far out in the Indian Ocean and approach the Sumatran coast between the equator and 5° N, while weaker westerlies, originating away to the North-West, cover the Northern half of the Bay of Bengal. During May, the South-West monsoon advances across the Malay Peninsula, Thailand and Indo-China, at the same time as the South-West Pacific trades push Northwards in the region East of 100° E. This regime reaches its peak strength and constancy in July when the southerly winds over the South-China Sea attain speeds of as much as thirty knots. In this same month, the South-West Pacific trades are experienced even beyond 10° N. During August and September, wind forces and constancies slacken and by October the North-East monsoon is developing in the Northern reaches of the South-China sea. By January it covers virtually all equatorial South-East Asia except Southern Sumatra and Java, which are under a Westerly air-stream from the Indian Ocean. The following months see a gradual retreat of the North-easterlies accompanied by a decrease in their strength and constancy. Finally, in April the cycle begins anew....This dependence of communication and trade on the rhythm of the wind seasons, which continued throughout our period and indeed into the nineteenth century, is clearly exemplified in some of the Chinese texts....notably those relating to the voyage of the Sui envoys in A. D. 413-4 and the journeys of other Buddhist pilgrims recorded by I-Ching."

The disastrous hurricane on the Bay of Bengal, to which Fahien and his fellow-passengers fell a prey, probably sometime in the first half of September, A. D, 413,[32] raises doubt in the mind whether the sailors in the Bay of Bengal were acquainted with anything similar to the trade-wind in the Arabian Sea connected with the name of Hippalus. In

30 Ibid, p. 77
31 *op. cit.* Introd., pp. XVIII-XIX.
32 H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 3

any case, this was not the only danger met with in the Bay of Bengal, for the pilgrim has also referred to the existence of piracy in the time we are speaking of.

Further to the East and a little after Fa-hien, Cām pirates are found raiding the coasts of Annam till the government of Liu Sung took punitive action against them in 446 A.D[33]. Added to the threats posed by pirates in the lucrative sea-lanes of the Indian Ocean and the South-China seas, the rapacious harbour officials also constituted a great menace to the traders, for which several governments lying on the sea-fringe of South and South-East Asia had to take action, but these punitive measures had but a temporary effect, if at all, because, within 40 years, to be precise in 484 A.D., a mission from the Funan coast went to the court of the Chinese emperor to demand justice against the "piratical" activities of the Cāms of Lin-yi.

These difficulties did not however deter the Chinese pilgrims from travelling more and more by way of the sea than by the overland route. It may be recalled in this connexion that out of sixty Chinese pilgrims to India mentioned by I-tsing, thirty seven or thirty eight travelled by the sea route[34]. Chau Ju-kua, writing long afterwards,[35] stated the reason, which might have been valid, at least for his time, regarding the preference of Chinese travellers for the sea voyage. He says, "As Ta-mo (Dharma) came sailing across the sea to P'an-yū (Canton), we may fairly ask whether the sea-journey is not more expeditious than the long overland one". Hazards of the tedious and lengthy overland journey through unknown and sometimes unfriendly lands were at least equal to if not more than those on the sea. Consequently travellers preferred the sea-voyage, as it involved less physical exertion. Besides, greater security measures adopted for the protection of the sailing vessels ultimately tilted the balance in favour of the sea-voyage.

The Chinese government were alive to the danger. Indeed, the Chinese data bearing on early Sung ships (420–478 A. D.), even as those of the late T'ang period (618–906 A. D.) and the Five Dynasties (907–959 A. D.) refer to the fact that the cargo–ships had to be armed

33 Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, pp. 70–74.

34 Chavannes, *op. cit. passim.*

35 *Chau fan–chi*, p. 9.

against pirates, specially with bowmen.[36] Nearer home, unfortunately, there were even princes participating in piratical raids. In the *Daśakumāracarita*,[37] for example, a prince of Tāmralipti, is represented as raiding a Yavana, perhaps a Greek ship, with one large vessel and several smaller ones. Piracy near the Andaman was also not unknown. It has been recorded that some traders, awed by pirates known as the Nāgas, probably some indigenous people of the Nicobars, thought of giving up their trade in order to adopt some other occupations.[38] The Andamans lay on way to the Far East and many sailors had thus to face the dangers of piracy.

Inscriptional and literary data of the 8th century A. D. refer to piratical raids on the coasts of Indo-China. It has been stated that "in the Ṣaka year 696, ferocious, pitiless, dark-skinned people of other cities whose food was more horrible than that of vampires and who were furious like Yama came in ships;" they stole a Śivaliṅga and burnt the temple said to have been built by Vicitrasāgara, the legendary king of Campā.[39] Inscriptions do not however make it explicitly clear[40] whether these raids were organised by pirates or governmental agencies, but the description is interesting. A Javanese raid, perhaps sponsored by a government agency, destroyed a sanctuary of Bhadrādhipatīśvara located near modern Phan-rang in 787 A. D.[41] Sailors also faced other types of difficulties when sailing by the coast of Campā. This refers to detention of ships by the rulers of the coastal areas. It has been stated that the ruler of Brunei in Northern Borneo sent envoys in 997 A. D. to the Chinese court and promised to send "tributes" annually, but he complained "when I do so, I fear that my ships may occasionally be blown to Campā and I therefore hope that Your Majesty will send an edict to that country with orders that, if a ship of Hiang-ta (the Brunei ruler) arrives there, it must not be detained."[42]

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36 Gungwu, *p. op. cit.* 108, quoting Kuwa bara, *P'u Shou-keng* (Chinese pp. 96–98.

37 Ryder, Tr. p. 164. There are many examples from later times.

38 Cf. *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra (Bibl. Ihd.) pp. 113 ff.

39 Barth and Bergaigne, *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Champa et du Cambodge*, p. 253. vide, R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* I, pp. 157–58.

40 Barth and Bergaigne, *op. cit.* pp. 252, 253, 256.

41 *Ibid*, p. 217

42 Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, p. 100.

Like the Indo-Chinese coast, the Malay waters also continued to be a paradise for the pirates. It has been stated in Chia Tan's description of the sea-routes (c. 800 A.D.) that many people of the place called Ko-ko-seng-ti-kuo were "robbers and those who sail in ships fear them."[43] Pelliot identified the place with one of the Browers Islands lying opposite to Johore at the extreme North of the Peninsula. Piracy in the Malayan waters is also described as rampant by some Arab writers. Mas'udi, who wrote his geographical work entitled *Muruj al-Dhahab* towards the middle of the 10th century A. D., also refers to it and describes the condition obtaining in many islands in the Sea of Kerdenj. The Sea of Kerdenj is believed by some to be no other than the South China Seas and the adjoining Straits. Among the inhabitants of these islands, "there is one tribe called Fenjab: they have frizzly hair and strange figures; ready in their boats, they lie in wait for boats that pass by the vicinity and shoot poisoned arrows of special kind upon them. Between the country they live in and the land of Kalah, there are mines of tin and mountains containing silver."[44]

Whether Kalah be equated with the Mergui district, Tenasserim coast, Kédah or the Island Kala off the mouth of the Tenasserim river, the location of tin mines points the finger towards Yen, North of Kédah Peak and towards Semiling and Tupeh lying to the South. It is no doubt true that tin is found throughout the Peninsula,[45] but since tin-bearing tracts have to be located between Mergui/Tenasserim and the home country of the author, it should refer to the southern half of the Peninsula, specially its western belt where tin is found more plentifully. Rightly or wrongly, Perak, meaning silver in Malay, passed off for a silver-producing or handling region. Consequently, the Sea of Kerdenj appears to refer, from the context, the Straits of Malacca which was, from other evidences to be furnished later on, a Paradise for the pirates.

The Fenjab-people of Mas'udi also figure in the works of Idrisi in 1154, but although this author has utilised the writings of Mas'udi and others, he has transcribed the name as Fenjat, apparently due to copyist's mistake. From the context, these people appear to have

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43 Pelliot, *Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde*, etc., in *BEFEO* IV (1904) p. 34.

44 Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et textes geographiques*, etc. Vol. I p. 99.

45 Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. XXIV

inhabited some islands in the Straits of Malacca.[46] Idrisi's note however gives some information, which confirms the details of Mas'udi in regard to the appearance and method of piracy of these people. Idrisi tells us that "it is difficult to withstand their attacks and few of those that pass in their neighbourhood or fall into their hands succeed in effecting their escape. Each of these men wears around his neck a collar of either iron, copper or gold."[47]

Another set of pirates seems to have lived somewhere in the Straits of Singapore and they have been referred to by Ibn Said, an author from the 13th century. Regarding the den of these pirates, he says,[48] "This place is called Bintan. Here are some small islands from which black pirates go out armed with poisoned arrows, who have ships armed for war; they rob the people but do not take them captive. It happens that there are sometimes among them people who take prisoners." Sopher believes that the poisoned arrows of special kinds referred to in a preceding paragraphs might have been blow-pipe darts.

From what has been stated above, it would appear that the Northern coast of Sumatra and Malayan waters were subject to such depredations of pirates for many centuries. According to Khurdādhbih, Kilah[49] the western coast of Malaya was at two days' journey from Balus, which was inhabited by man-eaters, but constituted a source of excellent camphor, apparently coming from its hinterland. Now, Barbosa, speaking of the people of Aru in a tract of Sumatra said that they were cannibals and ate every foreigner they could lay their hands on.[50] Pires[51] also speaks of cannibals living behind Singkel in the North-western coast of Sumatra.

All these hazards on and about the trade-route hindered the promotion of commercial activities through the Straits of Malacca and the South China Seas, and naturally Sino-Indian trade through these zones in the ancient and medieval periods suffered greatly. Piracy and cannibalism continued unabated in these regions in the 13th century

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46 Cf. Sopher, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

47 Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

48 Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 316. These passages have also been discussed by Sopher, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

49 Whealtley, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–24 places Kilah/Kalah on the Tenasserim coast.

50 Dames, Ed. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa II*, p. 188

51 *Suma Orientale I*, p. 163.

also. Chau Ju-kua, writing about 1226 A. D., indeed says that the people of Palembang-Śrīvijaya (San-fo-t'si) were notorious pirates.[52] Relying on the work called *Ling-wai-tai-ta*,[52a] which was composed about the year 1178 A.D., the same author again says: "Sha-hua-kung (or: Chao-hwa)[53] is a country in the South-East Sea. The people of the country of Sha-hua-kung are in the habit of going out on the high seas for plunder, and sell their prisoners to Shö-po. Again in a South-easterly direction and near the Fo country are certain islands inhabited by savage robbers called Ma-lo-nu. When traders are driven to this country, these savages assemble in large crowds and having caught the ship-wrecked ones roast them over a fire with large bamboo pincers and eat them. The chiefs of these bore their teeth and plate them with yellow gold. They use human skulls as vessels for drinking and eating. The further one penetrates among these islands, the worse the robbers are."

Now, if Sha-hua-kung/Chao-hwa be Java,[54] Shö-po[55] can not be the same, though Fo may be the short transcription of Fo-shih or Śrīvijaya. In this uncertainty, it is difficult to identify this red sea-lane, but it seems to have lain somewhere in the Southern seas between Borneo and the Western point of Sumatra. Ma-lo-nu of this passage is believed by Sopher[56] to be no other than Milaniu, the coastal Dayaks of Sarawak. If Milanau be the same as Ma-lo-nu, Sha-hua-kung would be, according to the same scholar, the same as Natuna islands.

Not only here, but also at Fo-lo-an[57] near Pahang in the Malay Peninsula, the pirates were very active. It has been recorded in a Chinese text[58] that "when pirate-ships are about to enter the region (i.e. Fo-lo-an), they are inevitably driven (back) by the wind. This is popularly ascribed to the influence of the Buddha." Now, this Fo-lo-an was a dependency of the Śrīvijayan empire and, in the palmy days

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52 Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 63.

52a It was written by Chou Ch'u-fei, Assistant sub-prefect of Kuei-lin, the capital of Kwang-si, in ten books.

53 Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 89 and Coedes, *The Indianized States*, p. 234.

54 Wheatley. *op. cit.*, p. 89.

55 Obdeijn thinks (*Tijdschr, Ned, Aard, Genoot*, 2nd series, 59 (1942) p. 715) it to be Bangka, See also Sopher, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

56 *op. cit.*, pp. 340-41.

57 Indentified by Wheatley (*op. cit.*, p. 70) with (Kuala) Bērang in the Malay Peninsula.

58 For text and translation, vide *Ibid*, pp. 68-9.

of the empire, chiefs were appointed from San-fo-ch'i. It was a trading centre and indigenous products like varieties of gharu-wood, laka-wood, sandal wood and ivory were bartered by foreign traders for gold, silver, porcelain, iron, sugar, wheat, etc. Piracy was also practised by the people of Kédah in the western parts of Malaya. Wang Ta-yuan, writing in 1349, stated that the inhabitants were addicted to piracy. The same opinion was expressed by Fei Hsin.

Arabic sources also tell us of the cannibals of the neighbouring country of Indonesia. One of the tales of Buzurg refers to the "tailed man-eaters who lived between the land of Funsur[59] and the land of Lameri."[60] The reference to "tails" may naturally create doubt about the authenticity of the information, but the savages referred to here might have been masked people with monkey as their totem. In any case, neighbouring regions were also infested by cannibals. While speaking of Ferlec, which corresponds to Perlak in Sumatra, Marco Polo says that the people of its hilly areas ate human flesh.[61] In the kingdom of Dagroian, the same author observed people practising cannibalistic rites. The name of this place was believed by Coedes to be a copyist's error for Damian, which lies between Deli and Achin in Sumatra and may be identified with Tumihang of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*.[62] In the beginning of the thirteenth century, Śrīvijaya[63] itself had degenerated into a piratical state. Chau Ju-kua writes, "This country (lies) in the ocean and it controls the Straits through which foreigners' sea and land traffic, in either direction must pass .... If a merchant ship passes by without entering, their boats go forth to make a combined attack, and all are ready to die (in the attempt)."[64] The distintegration of the empire of Śrīvijaya in about the 14th century facilitated the rise of more piratical states. By the beginning of the 15th century, Palembang itself, the proud capital of the Śrīvijayan empire, was no better than a piratical rendezvous. Singapore's history is also some-

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59 The same as Barus.

60 Lamuri or Great Acheh on the North-West of Sumatra.

61 Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo* I, p. 371; Ricci, *Travels of Marco Polo* p. 282.

62 Canto 13/4. Krom discusses the geographical details in his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1931. p. 416. The place is referred to as T'an-yan in the Chinese texts. Vide Pelliot, *Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde*, etc., p. 328.

63 Vide, Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 62.

64 *Ibid*, p. 62; Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais*, p. 13.

what similar. In the Fort Canning Hill area, the people seem to have been mainly occupied by religious and trading communities, but outside the town, the Straits pirates were very active and it has been observed that the activities of the sea gypsies of the Keppel Harbour indirectly led to the boom across the Singapore river.[65] There are also some other data relating to disturbed conditions on account of the depredations of the pirates in the same region. We thus learn from *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan*[66] about Lung-ya-men (Keppel Harbour):

"This place is to the North-West of San-fo-ch'i (Śrīvijaya). There is here a passage-way between hills which face each other and look like 'dragon's teeth.' Through this ships must pass.... They (people of this place) are very daring pirates. If a foreign ship happens to pass that way, they attack it in hundreds of little boats. If wind and fortune are favourable (the ship) may escape; otherwise (the pirates) will plunder the ship and put both passenger and crew to death."

Similar situation was observed by Ibn Battūtah (1345/6) at Qāqullah,[67] which was beyond Kalāh and lay on the sea-route from India to China. Ibn Battūtah says,[68] "On reaching the port of Qāqullah we found there a number junks preparing to make piratical raids, and also to deal with any junks that might attempts to resist their exertions, for they impose a tribute on each junk (calling at that place.)" The condition was not much different in another part of the Malayan waters. Writing in about 1350 A. D., Wang Ta-yuan says that piracy was then widely prevalent in the Northern sea coast of Sumatra.[69]

The dissolation of the Śailendra empire into smaller units promoted the establishment of tiny kingdoms by the adventurous pirate magnets,

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65 Brown, *JRAS* (*Mal. Br.*), Vol. XXV, pp. 36, 39.

66 Trans. in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

67 Regarding the problem of its location and literature thereon, vide, Wheatley (*op. cit.*, pp. 226 ff.). He has come to the tentative conclusion (*op. cit.*, p. 228) that, if it lay to the North-West of Kalāh, it must be sought for in the northern section of the Isthmus or possibly in a tract on the Tenasserim coast.

68 Gibb, *Ibn Battūṭa* (*Travels in Asi and Africa*), p. 276. Regarding this passage, vide also Tibbets in *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. IX. p. 37.

69 Rockhill, in *T'oung Pao* 16 (1915), pp. 99, 132, 148, 253.

particularly where the location was suitable. Pirates were thus responsible for the foundation of Malacca at the junction of the 14th and 15th centuries A. D. It appears from the writings of Tompires[70] that a band of Bugis who were pirates from the South gathered under the leadership of a renegade Indonesian (Javan or Sumatran) called Parameśwara. He was, according to Albuquerque, a native of Palembang. After marrying a princess of Majapahit,[71] he killed the Malay chief of Tumasik (Singapore) and reigned there for five years, but he was ultimately driven out by Ayutthaya. He and his band, which included, among others, the Celates, then established themselves at Muar and then at Bērtam in the Western coast of the Malay Peninsula, about 2 leagues North of Malacca. Sometime later on, these people seized a fishing village at the mouth of the Malacca river, so that they could develop a market for the disposal of their booties. Their activities encouraged others to come in and develop both illicit and regular trade. Regular trade developed across the Strait[72] and with Bengal.[73] Malacca thus became a regular trading centre by 1403 A. D. The decree of the Chinese emperor helped Paramesvara to stabilise his position as the king of Malacca.

The Celates constituted a criminal tribe who lived and thrived on piracy. They carried on their depredations on a massive scale. Joao de Barres, a reliable writer about the early history of the Portuguese power in the Indies, also speaks about the Celates.[74] They lived almost always afloat rather than on land. Tome Pires, even as de Barros, considered the Celates as sea-robbers.[75] " They are brought up on the sea and are great rowers." They were like the *Orang laut* of the 19th century and had no fixed habitat ashore. In the innumerable creeks of South-East Sumatra were located the temporary rendezvous of the Celates.[76] Albuquerque's son has stated that such pirates with stolen goods were always welcome in Malacca and often force was used by the pirates to bring ships to Malacca in stead of Singapore.[77]

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70 Cortesao, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, Vol. II, Book VI.
71 Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-7; Coedes, *Indianized States*, pp. 245 ff.; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 384 ff.
72 *The Suma Oriental* II, p. 238.
73 Albuquerque, *Commentaries III*, p. 77.
74 A detailed discussion about the Celates, with literature thereon, is to be found in Sopher, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-39.
75 *Suma Oriental I*, p. 149.
76 *Ibid*, pp. 156-57.
77 Barros, *Decade II*, Book 6, chap. 1, p. 9, quoted by Ferrand, *Malaka, le Malāvu et Malāyur*, in *Journ. As.*, 11-12 (1918) p. 435.

There were also piratical dens in the neighbourhood of the Linga Strait, which, according to Obdeijn[78] was no other than the Durian Strait in the Western zone of the Riouw Arch-ipelago. Indeed, Fei Hsin, who compiled his work about 1436 A. D.[79] writes about the piratical raids in this area. He says, "The Strait of Linga is situated to the North-West of Palembang; high mountains face each other as the teeth of a dragon and between these ships pass. The soil is barren....Men and women....chiefly live from piracy, and when they see native vessels, they go out with many hundreds of small boats to attack them; when there is a favourable wind, these ships may escape, but otherwise they are plundered and the crew killed. Therefore ships are very care-ful in the neighbourhood."[80]

The reference to "Dragon-teeth" -Strait in the writing of Fei Hsin as well as in the *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lān* and details bearing on the same indicates the persistent nature of the depredations carried on by the daring pirates. The location of the Dragon-teeth Strait in the North-West of Palembang Śrīvijaya and other details furnished by medieval writers have enabled Barnes and Gibson-Hill to identify the place with the Keppel Harbour of modern times.[81]

The survey made above must have made it abundantly clear that piracy was a thriving trade in the Bay of Bengal and the South-East Asian waters, more particularly in the latter place, since the dawn of

78 *op. cit.*, p. 752.

79 Duyvendak in *Verhand. Konink. Akad. Weten. Afd. Lett.*, New Series, Vol. XXXII, no. 3 (1933) pp. 237-452.

80 Piracy conducted on similar pattern was observed by Marco Polo towards the close of the 13th century in the coastal areas of Malabar and Gujarat. He says, "More than a hundred ships go out every year on piratical cruises: they seize other ships, and rob the merchants. For they are wicked sea-robbers. And I will add that they take their women and little children with them; all the summer they stay out cruising and do great harm to traders......they make a cordon across the sea, that is, they spread out, at a distance of some five miles from one another; some twenty will sail out, thus drawn up, so that they cover a hundred miles of sea. As soon as they see some merchant ship, they signal to one another with fires, and so no ship can cross that tract of sea without falling into their hands......" (Ricci, *op. cit.*, pp. 330, 332).

81 *JRAS* (*Straits Br.*) no. 60 (1911) pp. 25-34; Mem. Raffles Mus. no 3 (1956) pp. 29-45.

commercial activities in these areas. When the thalassic powers were great and succeeded in controlling the bus traffic lanes, piracy which was never completely eliminated perhaps, only lay low for the time being, but rose up again as soon as the neighbouring States grew weak in sea-power. About half a dozen states, which pass before our view in the Malay Peninsula prior to the rise of Śrīvijaya, were never powerful and they could not control piracy in the neighbouring waters. In the days of Śrīvijayan greatness from the 8th to the 10th centuries A, D., there was comparative lull in the activities of the pirates in the Straits of Malacca and neighbouring waters, but they gathered momentum with the weakening and ultimate disintergration of the authority of Śrīvijaya. Its epitaph was written by a pirate-prince who was installed on the throne of Malacca with investiture granted by the Chinese emperor.

Firuz Shah Tughlaq and His Times

*A study of the rare manuscript "Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhi**

BY

S. H. ASKARI

A curious and characteristic trait in man is that which makes him interested in all that is the first, new or unique in literature, history or any other subject. Whatever the intrinsic worth, if it is the only, the earliest and the rarest example of its kind, it acquires a special value. This has been the case with the unique manuscript; Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhi, the only copy of which exists in the Oriental Public (Khuda Bakhsh) Library of Patna. It is not a consecutive history with the thread of narrative running through it and giving it unity and continuity; but it has a series of revealing items of information relating to such subjects as one is accustomed to find treated in comparative historical works. The survey offered in the volume starts with political history and the military campaigns of Firūz Shāh and then becomes composite relating to hunt, religions and sects, socio-ethical and technical topics as medicine, therapeutics, pharmacology, anatomy, astronomy, archaeology etc. With its many materials of historical and cultural value, it was respectable enough to attract the attention of scholars. It is a work of vast erudition and a valuable compendium of many-sided activities and a laudatory appraisal of the accomplishments, achievements and contributions to the works of public utility by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq. This highly eulogistic account of an occupant of the throne who was undoubtedly a man of fascinating personality and nobility of character, wedded to peace, averse to unnecessary wars and bloodshed, and sincerely anxious to do good to the people, is a fourteenth century contemporary authority of first rate importance as it provides a good deal of information on a variety of subjects ranging over a very wide field. It was composed in 772 = 1370-1, that is 18 years before the death of the third ruler of the Tughlaq dynasty. But though an original source of the reign, as an adequate coherent, systematic account and a satisfactory historical work, it does not measure up the high standard of the equally contemporary works of Shams-i Siraj Afif and also of Ziauddin Barani, as far as it goes.

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* The Unique copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library.

The first scholar who felt attracted towards it, and attempted to render it into English was the late lamented Professor Dr. K. K. Basu of Bhagalpur; but he could translate only the first few folios of the work, dealing with political and military affairs, and that too, not as a whole, and this was published in three instalments in the Journal of Bihar Research Society. As nothing came out of the proposal made to the present writer for collaboration, and the aforesaid scholar had to switch off to some other subjects of greater interest, the work was left unfinished. Some articles and a fairly long paper on the transference of the Asokan Monolith have appeared on the work, and Dr. Mahdi Husain, the author of 'The Tughlaq Dynasty' and the authors of the two monographs recently published, on Sultan Firuz Shah, have made discriminate use of some portions of it. The valuable section of the Sīrat giving an elaborate and graphic description with diagrams, of the digging up, taking down and transferring the huge Asokan pillar from the original site, Topra, Khizrabad, dragging it on wheeled carts, pulled by bullocks, elephants, and men, and carried through high rafts on river, and setting what came to be called Minar-i-Zarrin or Golden pillar inside the citadel of Kotla Firuzabad at Delhi, was translated, as a whole, and published with notes in the Archaelogical Memoirs No. 52. But it is curious that this highly interesting book on the life, works and times of Firūz Shāh has neither been examined as a whole nor complete translation of the whole of the original text which is long over-due, has been made. The present work represents an attempt to consummate the task of completing the translation of the entire manuscript with adequate footnotes about places, persons and subjects. It is to be accompanied with a fully corrected version of the original Persian Text which is under preparation.

The first thing that arrests one's glance over the book is the external appearance of this 14th century manuscript. It is a large plainly bound volume comprising 179 folios with 17 lines to a page, written on thick India paper, mellowed by time from black to brown. The date of the copying has been given as 1002 or 1593-4; but neither the scribe nor the original author has given his name or revealed his identity for reasons best known to themselves. Both the fly leaf and back of the closing page have numerous seals and Ard–didas with dates and notes which give sure indication of the antiquity, worth and value of the book as one that once belonged to Imperial Library and was often presented for royal perusal. Of the dozen seals, on the first page and 3 on the last, some are so damaged or obliterated, in parts or as a whole, as to make the inscribed names almost illegible. The names of the

Mughal Omarahs or officials of Shah Jahan and others which could be read with some difficulty are both simple and in Saja' (poesy), some of these are "Banda Arif Murid, Shah Jahan Badshah, Abdullah Khanazad, Alamgir Badshah, Amanat Khan Banda-i-Shah Jahan, 1042, Syed Ali Chishti (Bal Bakhshi). Murid Alamgir Badshah. One large and blurred seal appears to be that of Bahadur Ali Khan Banda-i-Dargah Mualla Muhammad Shah Badshah Ghazi. Some names which could not be correctly deciphered look like those of Alif Khan, Abul Fatah, Bakht or Najib Khan, Sharif Kitabdar. One of the seals at the top contains a sacred verse of the Quran, "Allah-o-Zul Fazl-il-Azim"; others appear to be 'Saja's' like 'Maqsud-i-Khuda az Allah-o-Akbar Shud. Az Yad-e-Khuda Inayet shud. Bar Jada-ha-i-Ikhlas Mazra-i-Bahar Hatif". No less significant are the 12 Ard-didas with dates and notes on the first, and 3 on the last page, and numerous 'Allah-o-Akbar' and one 'Bismillah'. The dates in the Ard-didas range over 1012, 15 Rabi I; 22 Bahman, Ilahi month year 9; 2 Isfandiyar, year 8; 12 Mah Urdi Bihisht; 6 Urdi bihisht, year 16: 12 Azar Mah Year 5; 17 Ziqad, year 9;9 Shahryar, year 1; An important endorsement says on "Ghurra (ist) Rabi II, year 20" ba maujudat rasid" (received in things present), and another says on 9th Shahryar Ilahi year one, it came into the tahvil (charge or custody) of Abdul Ghafur on the 25 Dai Ilahi month, year 7 (from), Abdul Ghafur (it went into) the tahvil of Khawaja Ambar; and yet another tells us that on 11 Ilahi month of Azar, year "5 az tahvil-i-Mullah Salih ba tahvil-i-Mullah Nua' man shud" The rare copy of Diwan-i-Hafiz, bearing the autographs of Shah-Jahan in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, contains the seals of Muhammad Saleh, Abdullah Chalpi and Syed Ali Chisti. The unique and highly illustrated manuscript, Tarikh-i-Khandani-Taimuria, which bears the autographs of Shah Jahan has many Ardi-das and two seals of Sadiq Khan, which are exactly the same as we find on the Sirat, and also of Saiyid Ali Chishti and also the names of some officials including Abdul Ghafur and Khawaja Hilal and Khawaja Ambar.

The extremely rare and valuable manuscript of Sirat of which no other copy is known to exist anywhere else is complete and is, on the whole, in a fairly good condition of preservation. Some of the folios, however, are misplaced: but none of them is missing. A reader who is not careful enough may form a hasty opinion on seeing some conflict with the context about gaps or gaping lacunae. The correct order of the folios have been restored in the translation with the help of word-leaving which is the usual feature of good manuscripts. As regards the script, if it is to be placed in any definite category, it would be fairly

good Nastaliq with sprinklings of Shikista like Naskh. At places the manuscript shows some damage such as worm-holes, with folded and torn pieces, or papers pasted on the torn or damaged portions. The book has an illuminated unwār or headpiece which shows signs of fading, and it is written throughout within gold and coloured ruled borders. Some of the interlinear glosses, specially in the section dealing with medicinal drugs, giving equivalent meanings, chapter headings, and some sectional pieces are in red ink.

Either due to lapse of time or because of insufficient literary equipment the scribe appears to have failed to grasp the exact words of some Arabic or Persian words of the original, which might have appeared to him to be archaic, antiquated and obsolete or unintelligible; these have been left purposely vague and void of diacriticals marks, dots and vowel points which creates tremendous difficulties for the reader.

The difficulty of the reader has lain not only in script but also in the language and style, and it takes much of his time and energy to decipher the correct words and expressions and bring them in their exact and adequate historical setting. The author's stiff and complicated, long and overloaded sentences increase the reader's understanding of the true import of the subject. When one compares and attempts to characterise the styles of the two kindred principal sources, the Futūhāt and the Sīrat one finds them so different not only in size and quality but also in diction and manner of expression. Despite some resemblances in ideas and contents and accounts of good deeds and benevolent actions of the Sultan, the characteristic modes of writings, employment of words and expressions, composition and execution, in the two, are distinct and dissimilar. The one is written in an easy, smooth, lively and pleasing style, while the style of the other though robust and spirited is rhetorical, pompous, highly inflated and verbose. The writer of Sīrat is very fond of puns and verbal quibbles, of words which have similar forms and sounds but have different meanings in such a way as to play on two or more of the possible application. Then there is an abundance of similies and metaphors, high sounding abstruse words and expressions. The flashy style is indicative of a tendency towards conscious efforts for ostentatious display of the author's knowledge of vocabulary. This book is packed with a vocabulary of concordances, giving different shades of meaning under which the same or similar words and terms have been used to express the writer's ideas. There is a repletion of tautological terms and words with same, parallel, or equivalent meanings.

Before we pass on to the organization and contents of the work, it is worth-while to say something about the nature of the book and its author. It has many points of interest for a student of history, but it is not a formal history, chronicle or annals, giving written accounts of facts, episodes and events as they happened year by year, in exact chronological order of sequence. It was compiled by an anonymous writer whose idea and object seems to have been to please his patron and place in historical perspective the virtuous deeds, accomplishments and achievements of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq. He has attempted to represent him as one of the noblest and the most intellectual of men, a paragon of virtues, a great warrior, a reforming enthusiast, a devout orthodox Muslim, and a good administrator, and to him he ascribes the various matters of moment and significance and practically everything that was done for the benefit of the people.

Nothing seems to be known about the personality of the author save that he must have been intimately attached to the Sultan whom he has eulozised. Something can be gleaned about the author from the internal evidence for the manuscript supplies about a dozen stray references of a personal nature. In the very opening page he tells us why, for which primary reason and purpose, he wrote the book. The writer's object in decorating his narration with the praise or the glorification of the Sultan was that in the estimation of men, high and noble, he too, should have dignity or credit; for, as he says further, the glorious virtues of the Sun (like Sultan) were quite obvious to all, and a beautiful face hardly needs the services of a dresser. Elsewhere he throws into shade the unsavory fact of the virtual discomfiture of the late Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq in the campaigns against the Sindhians and Taghi, the rebel. The whole of that story is quite well known and does not require detailed and explicit exposition. Something of that had been seen (had come under his personal observation) and something had been heard from elderly persons. He purposely avoids the personal pronoun, and has left it vague whether what he has recorded he had himself seen and heard. Still later digressing from the affairs of Lakhnauti campaign and switching on to be subject of hunt he writes on f. 17, a. "At the time the making of the verses of others correspond with those poetical lines took place and their insertion in this book happened (my) affable disposition did not allow it to be overlooked for it would have led to deprivation of this pleasure." In another place, referring to the sayings and sermons of the Sultan to Khans, Maliks, Omarah and Tarafdars, (revenue or land office) he writes on f. 106 a. "That is from all this some of the auspicious

discourses (of His majesty) which he had the good fortune of listening to have been brought into honourable mention here." Here, as elsewhere, he has avoided speaking in his own person; but there is yet another and perhaps a mere revealing reference on f. 161 a. Here from every chapter something by way of specimens has been mentioned (noticed) from the list, so as to provide conclusive argument and a convincing proof to the rival claims. Lastly in the beginning and in the end, there are two suggestive lines in book. This books has been compiled about the ways of the kings and the etiquette of royalty. It is clear frōm this that the book was written by the direction of the Sultan who was not its author and who did not dictate it.

The word Imla means direction, order, command and instruction and also inditing, that is putting something in writing or composition. When considered along with another word 'Irshad,' that is direction, order or command, which has been used in the case of some of the books such as Tibb-i-Firuz Shahi, Shikarnāma-i-Fatah Khan, Mizān and Usturlāb-i-Firuz Shahi, all surmises and doubts disappear about the authorship of the Sultan. None of these seem to have emanated directly from the pen of Firuz Shah. In all probability the Sultan gave orders and instruction, furnished some matters, lines of investigation, and some guiding principles for such a compilation. In short, he inspired and authorized an expanded and comprehensive version of his Futuhat of which he was himself the author. What he spoke or read aloud was taken down, that his own statements concerning his reforms, beneficent deeds, and contributions in varied fields were inscribed on the domed cupola of the congregational mosque at Firuzabad. In the Futūhāt he speaks in the first person. He may have desired that somebody who was also in the knew of many things and had an ample opportunity to secure information from trustworty sources should bring into limelight the essentials of historical episodes and military achievements and his views and ideas concerning religions and sects, socio-ethical matters and such technical subjects as astronomy, medicine, pathology of birds and animals, education and administration etc. which he had briefly touched upon in Futūhāt. Thus the Sīrat came into being.

As regards the scheme of the organisation of the book, the arrangements and selection of the contents, the book falls into four unequal divisions, each called a Bāb or Chapter of which the first is mainly concerned with wars and hunt; the second is entitled justice, benevolence, fidelity, generosity stoppage of violence and killing of human beings; the third deals with the prosperity, fortunes and wonder-

working powers of the Sultan; and the fourth and last is about the "knowledge, wisdom and sciences." But these chapter headings do not help the readers much for each of them is packed with information about a variety of subjects forming a sort of interesting miscellany.

To descend to details:- The first part, the second largest, which is without any chapter-heading, opens with a glowing tribute to the Sultan; refers to his accession, and repulsion of the Mongol rebels, and to the unsuccessful attempts plots to kill him. This is followed by a survey of political and military events such as the surrender of Khawāja Jahān, the exaltation of Qawām-ul-mulk Maqbūl entitled Khān Jahān and the accounts of the military campaigns, the two expeditions to Lakhnauti, the invasion of Jājnagar (Orissa), and the campaigns against Nāgarkot, Sindh and Thatta, and Gujarat.

The account of the Jajnagar campaign has been given in greater detail than in other books, and besides the political and military events, interesting information has been supplied about the chief products of the land and the peculiar characteristics of the inhabitants, specially the tribal people, and the mode of living as also the special rites performed by the votaris of the Jagannath temple. Besides these, the first Bab contains an account of the Sultan's hunting pursuits, and his intimate knowledge about the affairs of hunt. It gives a detailed description of his varied knowledge of animals, dogs, tigers, panthers and birds, their habits and peculiarities. These were divided by the Sultan into various categories, corresponding to four elements and twelve zodiacal signs. Suitable seasons and occasions for shooting and hunting games were also given by him.

The second chapter, the largest of the work (50a–139b) entitled "Justice and benevolence, fidelity, humanity, and the repelling of violence and killing of human beings", opens with an interesting observation on the varieties of torture practised by the previous rulers which were abolished by Firūz Shāh who diverted the brute force in man to lawful channels or less harmful hunt and just wars. Then there is a lengthy discourse on ire and irascibility and a pathological study on anger, its causes, symptoms, and consequences. The whole of this has been practically taken, with some variations and abreviations, from an important section of *Ihyā-ul-Ulum* of the celebrated 11th century scholar, Imām Muhammad Ghazzāli, who has been mentioned. The spilling of blood ceased completely except that which passed through the nose or with what was brought out by the

phlebetomist or the vein opener, and the only people dissatisfied with the Sultan were the professional executioners who had lost their jobs and emoluments.

Among the much-needed reforms effected by the Sultan were the prohibitions of unlawful imposts or cesses collected for the public treasury, and appropriation of the four-fifths of the *Ghanīmah* (booty) to state, only the fifth being left for the participators. The Sultan ordered that the legal one fifth should be taken by the state and four-fifths were to be given to the warriors. The adoption of the new Khutha reviving the old practice of repeating the names and titles of many of the preceding Sultans was also ordered and enforced. Then comes the suppression of heretical sects of Islam, particularly the reviling and proselytising Shiites who were severely dealt with, and their books were burnt. This is accompanied with an enumeration of the other unorthodex sectaries of Islam, and then we get short accounts of the Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Tanàsukhians, Mazdakites and the Manichaeans and their sub-sections. The Tamhidāt of Abu Shakur Sālumi has been drawn upon for refuting the erroneous views of the heretical people concerning the validity of the caliphate of the immediate successors of the Prophet, and this is followed with an account of the abominable sects of the Mulahida and the Ibàhatia and their vile libidinous practices on the lines found in the Futūhāt, with some significant additions, based probably on the personal knowledge of the author of the Sīrat.

Among the good deeds of the Sultan mention has been made in this very chapter of the restoration of the confiscated property, villages, lands etc. to their legal owners, promotion of learning and education by grants of stipends, pensions and allowances, and of buildings of public academics for diffusion of knowledge in various branches of arts. law and science, and establishment of monastic houses or hospices for the religious people, draweshes, sufis, wayfarers and pilgrims. A long list of utensils, furnitures and articles of food and provision of common use for public purpose to meet the needs of and providing comforts for the men of the hospices in camp with the expenses defrayed from public exchequer has been given. References are found in this secti on also to the status and protection of Zimmis and exemption of the converts from the Jizyah which helped the propagation of Islam and proselytization.

After quoting from the books of Abū Shakūr Sālumi and Maulana Hafīzuddīn Muhammad Nasafi, both entitled Aqida, about

the true faith of the orthodox (Sunni) Muslims, the author tells us about the devout attitude and religious spirit of the Sultan, his association with, and visitations of, the abodes of holy men, Shaikhs and Sufis; and those especially mentioned are Nizāmuddīn Aulia of Delhi, Shāh Sherf-uddīn of Pānipat, Sayyid Jalāl Bukhāri of Uchch, Qutbuddīn Munawwar of Hānsi, Shaikh Alā-ul-Haq of Pandua (Bengal), and Ahmad Charmposh of Ambair (Bihar Sharif). An interesting dialogue between the last-mentioned personage and the Sultan has been recorded, and this is followed by sayings, the discourses and admonitary exhortations of the mystic saints and sages.

After a brief reference to sinners doomed to eternal punishment in hell of which the stages and horrors have been mentioned, the writer abruptly takes up the question of the Sultan's relations with the nobles, particularly those who had died in harness or had retired, due to old age. We are told that the offices and emoluments were given to their heirs, and in this connection mention has been made specially of the cases of Jauna Shah, and the heirs of other nobles such as Ainuddīn Māhru, Dāud Khān, son of Mālik Ibrāhīm Bayyu of Bihar. The Sultan's observation in the Futūhāt about appeasing the heirs of those who had been wronged, killed or tortured by the late Sultan with gifts and putting the executed and attested deeds in a chest placed in Darul Aman at the head of the tomb of the deceased ruler, has been confirmed by the auther of the Sīrat.

In connection with the public works of the Sultan, the writer first tells us about the repair and rebuilding of old edifices and monuments built by previous kings, and nobles. The channels of the Hauz-i-Shamshi which had been blocked were reopened, and the Hauz or reservoir of Khudāwand Khwājo was cleaned and repaired and so was the case with the Hauz of Mabārak Khān. Here we get a very interesting example of Sultan's broadmindedness. Inside or in the centre of the reserviour he found some old buildings including "an old deep well not set in stone (Bi'ar or qilib) which had been built by a Brahman. This was restored and repaired with magnificent additional structures in the name of the old builder. The Sultan ordered it to be taken as a memento and charitable legacy of the unmanned Hindu of the priestly class. The upper story of Qutb Minar, built by Sultan Iltumish, which had been struck by lightning was replaced and raised higher upto a few yards more and it took 6 months to do so.

Mention has also been made of the cultivation of waste lands and of the steps taken for the supply of water for irrigational purposes.

Fertilizing channels, wells, and streams and aqueducts converted barren lands into gardens and orchards, cultivable areas, growing various species of crops cultivated grains and vegetables, and fruit and flower-bearing trees and plants, and into populous habitations, full of elegant edifices. Interesting details have been furnished of cities and towns studded with various kind of buildings, places and fortification, double-storied mansions, residential dwelling-houses with open courtyards, apartments and side rooms, parlours, porticos, bath rooms and lavatories on upper floor, women's secluded apartments, subterrenean chambers, summer and winter and spring quarters, and also courtly houses, narrow holes and lurking places of the poorer sections. Indeed the references to the housing situation and conditions in cities, towns and villages are not devoid of interest.

After poetic references to the palaces and fort of Firūzabād, Kushk-i-Firūz, Kushk–i-Shikār, congregational mosque of Jahānpanah and the friday mosque of Firūzabād, the author gives an elaborate and graphic and illustrated description of the transfer of the Ashokan pillars, specially that removed from Topra Khizrabad, which after being safely uprooted from its original place was gently laid on cotton quilt-like beds, covered throughout with leathers and then being put on large carriages on carts with 42 wheels which were pulled by men and animals, was placed on big rafts, and transported across the river Jamuna to Firuzabad were it was re–erected (ff. 90–114). Folios 94b–102b contains very interesting and graphic illustrations showing the different positions of the Minaret when it was being carried to Firuzabad. This is followed by an account of mosques, monasteries, tanks, reservoires and canals, four or five of which have been specifically mentioned as were built by the Sultan. There is an interesting reference in this section, on f. 106, to an accacia (babul) tree that interfered with the construction of the citadel of Firūzabād, but the Sultan ordered it to be left untouched to save the nest of a crow where it had laid its eggs.

The author goes on and gives a collection of the Sulan's admonitary maxims and wise sayings (ff. 106–118 b) and an account of hospitals with a list of medicinal drugs for various kinds of complaints, disorders and diseases which were kept in Darush-Shifa. The account of the state hospital is followed by that of Diwan-i-Khairat or the department of charity which was established near the mosque of Firūzabad to grant financial aid for the marriage of the daughters of poor and needy Muslims. Then comes the author's observation on the Sultan's sense of justice and equity, and his advice to parents and children to recognise

the claims and discharge their duties, one to the other, and also to old men to give up the practice of dyeing the hairs of their heads and breast and to pass the rest of their lives in prayers and penitence to atone for their past sins and misdeeds, acts of omission and commission, and to prepare themselves for the next world. Noted jurists have been quoted from and the Prophet's traditions have been cited about the respective duties of parents and children. The sermons and sayings of the Sultan form very interesting reading, and so is the case with the writer's observations on crimes and punishment as were dealt with at that time.

The third part with the chapter heading, Iqbal (good fortune), Saadat (elicity or prosperity) and Karamat (wonder-working powers) contains first, a detailed discussions of the orthodox belief concerning the prerogatives of Caliphs and Imāms, the rights of the rulers on the subjects and the army, and those of the subjects on the rulers. It is followed by the relations of the Delhi Sultans with the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad, and their successors and representatives in Egypt. We get interesting details about the arrival of robes and letters, dates of the investiture of authority for the whole of India including the Deccan, the adjoining coastal islands, and the frontier regions. There is an interesting reference to the last mandate along with the approved Wakf-nama (bequest deed) received in Jamadi II, 771–January, 1370, which was sent to all parts of the country informing every body of the sanction of authority which had been granted to the Sultan.

We may pass over the unbelievable stories of some miraculous and marvellous occurrences, and also the trivialities concerning the precious pearl recovered by the Sultan while swimming in the sea which has been described with highly poetic gusto by the superstitious author, and may proceed to the good deeds done and to the small and valuable details supplied illustrating the disordered state of the country at the close of the previous reign and the peace and security, felicity and prosperity that came in the wake of the policy and measures of Sultān Firūz Shāh. Emigrants returned to their homes and to their old avocations, prices of grains and goods came down; and violence and oppression was completely stopped. The chapter closes with a reference to the receipt of the two keys of the Kaàbā and of the relics of the Prophet of Islam in the from of his two hairs which were shown to the people on special occasions.

The fourth and the last chapter spread on 30 folios (149 b–179 b) on Ilm (knowledge) Aql (wisdom) and Hikmat (Science) deals with the

Sultan's attainments in the various branches of Ilm-ul-Adyān (knowledge of faiths) and Ilm-ul-Abdah (knowledge of bodily organs and organism or physiology) that is law and theology and the structure of human body, anatomy of its several parts, diseases they are subject to, and their treatment. After dealing with laws of God as given by the Prophet regarding ritualists acts of worship, rules concerning travels and journeys, matters regarding transactions, foundlings, orphans, slaves missing ones, penal punishments, the author refers to some of the administrative measures of the Sultan and then tells us about the works translated and in original on various subjects such as medicine hunt, astronomy and astral charts that were composed under the Emperor's direction and were kept in the royal library, Kitāb Khānā-i-Khās.

These included Dalā'il-Firūz Shāhi which, as the author says, was a translated version of a book in Hindavi (Sanskrit) language which the Sultan picked out of the Library located in the temple of Jwāla Mukhi at Kangra Nagarkòt. It dealt with the rules concerning the falling of rain waters, gathering of the clouds, governing principles of the eclipses of the sun and the moon, conjunction of the planets, and the factors leading to their movement or circulation from one side of the Zodiac to another, and the influences that they exercised. For the most part, the rules and principles of astronomy are known from it. The Sultan has been credited with a deep and scholarly interest in science of astronomy and he ordered the construction of a spherical Usturlab (astrolabe) based on old Greek models used for finding the time of prayer, the movement and direction of various stars and planets, and their position in longitude and latitude as well as the effects of the planetary movements on human body. The astronomic part deals with partible measurement of the earth, points concerning sunrise and sunset. This was hoisted on the top of the Minarah of Firūzabād. There are subsections entitled 'Zikr-i-Mansūbāt-i-Kawākib and Zikr-i-Mansūbāt-i-burūj' (qualities and power and influences attributed to the stars and to the signs of Zodiac). The various component parts of the astrolabe made at the initiative of the Sultan have also been given and the Jadwal, that is the chart of astronomical tables have been furnished in figures.

Of the bound volumes, fully described and in details (Mujalladāt-i-Kutub-i-Mufassal) kept in the imperial library, special mention has been made of Shikār-nāmāh-i-Fath Khān, Mizān-i-Firūz Shāhi, Tibb-i-Firūz Shāhi, Kitāb Usturlāb and also Hindi works such as Dāstā ha, Uddesh or Har Minikhla on marvellous things of magical nature and Sarwali which dealt with Mawalid or bringing out of child from the

wombs of women in travail. Then comes the section relating to medical arts, anatomical determination of the position, parts of human organisation, the diseases of the various parts of the body, their symptoms and their treatment.

The last item of interest in the chapter lies in a subsection whose headline, given in red, "Uddate-e-Ālāt-i-Jihād-e-Ghizā" (equipments, outfits, and instruments for waging war against the un-believers) would lead one to think that the author wants to focus attention on arms and implements of war. If so, such is not the case. Actually we get here a hotch-potch of things, a plethora of identical terms, about the things stored in the royal Kārkhāna, stores or workshops. The main items given are (a) traps, nets, noose, and snares for hunting purposes, designed according to the suggestions of the Sultan, and kept in the royal establishment; (b) tools and apparatus used for industrial and agricultural purposes; (c) the spindles, shuttles, looms and other things used by weavers (d) utensils and tools of blacksmiths, goldsmith, farriers etc. (f) produce of mines and quarries (g) various types of gold and silver with their leaf and dust, etc. (h) vessels and utensils used by physicians and druggists to prepare various kinds of medicines (i) various kinds of jewels and ornaments for different parts of the body; (j) gems, diamonds, precious stones; (k) tins, lead, mercury, iron ore; (l) bits and dust of iron, gold, and silver (m) goods and furniture in general used by people, high and low. In the midst of these we find a brief reference to such instruments and arms for war as Bandiqa (venetian cross—bow for throwing stone balls), Faraqha Falakhun (spacious and horrifying slings made of ropes for throwing stones), Kaman guruha (a large mounted cross-bow such as the Persians used under the Kianian kings), Harf-i-Kilk (arrow with inverted and sharp points); Julahiq (balls of stone or earthen wares thrown by the ballists); Zand-i-atash Zana (incendiary fire steel).

Afif in his 13th Muqaddama has given an account of 36 royal establishments (Kārkhāna) of Sultan Firūz Shāh and he tells us that for these enormous supplies of articles (asbab) had been collected, and that each of these had been embellished with all sorts and varieties of chottels and effects and fine goods including various species of golden and silvery articles or things studded with gold gems, and precious stones and ornaments. He refers to different departments of the state establishment and the huge outlay from public treasury. In Sīrat mention has been made of slaves but not of the Diwan-i-Bandgan and other departments. The writer seems to have sacrificed the needs of

historical sufficiency, investigation and accuracy of information to rhetorical effects. The sparkling phraseology and multiplicity of terms and insignificant details are not very helpful in understanding the actual state of things. One wishes that he could have devoted more space to the subject and given factual details which he was in a position to know and about which he had ample opportunity to secure information from trustworthy sources. Here and elsewhere the Sīrat compares unfavourably with the kindred contemporary sources.

History in medieval times was an inseparable part of the life and times of the ruler. The Sīrat, composed some-what like a mosaic covering a very wide field and a mass of material of varied nature, displaying a wide range of learning, contributing somewhat to our knowledge of many things known only to the specialists, throwing occasionally, in many places, new and fresh lights on episodes and occurrences, and also giving glimpses into the social and economic condition of the times was not meant to be a consecutive narrative of political and hist orical developments save those which came within the compass of the author's object. Perhaps Abul Fazl of the 16th century received a cue from this 14th century prolific writer of varied interests and grandiloquent phraseology written as a labour of love, or as some many thing, at the instance of the Sultan, with the expressed desire to display his own literary equipments and attainments, the work cannot be considered as a definitive and objective piece of historical scholarship. It may be justly argued that the book fulfils the claim made by its title. The very etymology of the title of the volume shows that the writer was mainly concerned with modest manners and ways of living, and moral virtues and achievements of the Sultan. But though not a history in the strict technical sense of the word it would be quite wrong to think that it has no interest for a student of history and culture; that there is nothing in it of historical importance; it presents no new facts, no new information that had not been brought to light and made accessible by other writers, and therefore it is of very little value as a work of contemporay life and times.

The widely prevalent belief of those who having failed to scan and scrutinise its contents worthily and carefully say that nothing new can be unearthed from the work can be easily dispelled. Actually, it supplies many points which are valuable; several significant facts, sidelights and suggestive points or lines of history on disputed, unsolved, and obscure points are well worth noticing from the stand point of historical utility. We can realise the wide-seeing of the writer by the special attention he

gives and the new information that he furnishes if we cast a careful glance on what is admittedly the purely historical portion of the volume which falls within the first 44 folios wherein and nowhere else we find the followings:-

(a) Several instances of plots and conspiracies to kill the Sultan, and his liberalism in forgiving many of the miscreants who had made attempts at his life; (b) details about the antecedants and activities of Taghi and the genesis of his revolt, due to differences with Tarar Khan; Isami tells us something about the rebels of Gujrat, Qazi Jalal as his 3 companions (c) The antecedents of Haji Ilyas; the petitions of the people of Lakhnauti for protection against his oppressive acts; the warning letter sent by the Sultan which went unheeded, confirmed by poet Mutahhar who says that the Sultan first sent a letter to the eastern ruler, who made no response; situation of Ikdala as a village surrounded by, and on the bank of a river; Muslim women appearing on the parapet with veils removed, having poison in their garments to kill themsleves, if their appeal for mercy was not heard; (c) the date 759=1358 given in Sīrat and not by Afif for the Sultan's march on the Second expedition to Lakhnauti, just after the death of Hāji Ilyas; (d) the farman of Sultan Alauddin Khalji concerning the hunting hobbies of Sipahsalar Rajab, father of Sultan Firuz.

The rich and detailed account of the Jajnagar campaign; the routes taken, and the stages of Sultan's march; the kingdom identical with Orissa; the four objects given of the invasion, and confirmed by Mahru; march through Bihar as stated by Mutahhar also, through hilly regions into Sikhar (probably modern Manbhum); topographical description and names of towns and places, Kinnanagar, Tinnanagar, Saranghar, Kulkulghat, Girnas, Chattarpurp; flood of light thrown on the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom; the Rai of Sikhar and 36 chiefs who paid their homage to him; the male child of Shakar Khatun; description of uncivilized wild aboriginal tribes who lived in dense forests in border regions of Bihar with peculiar ways of living; the land of milk and honey, oranges and coconuts; the chief, Rai Pir (Bir) Khan Deo who had deputed spies to report on the activities of the imperialists; Afif misnames him and does not give the name of any particular place: flight of the Rai; preparation for 7 days to pursue him but diversions to hunt and capture of the elephants; the Rai's prayer for mercy and offers of submission accepted; visit to and sacrilige of the temple of Jagannath; its splendid architecture and shining icons carved on the walls; its rich

endowments; the peculiar rites and methods of worship of its devotees; the self-sacrificing ascetics mortifying their flesh, burning and drowning themselves to gain beatitude; the Ibanatian Mulhidan and idolators of Jajnagar; the Sultan's march to the Chilka Island near the sea coast and massacre of the refugees; reference to an earlier futile invasion of that place by Haji Ilyas of Bengal; hunt at Padamatila, and return to Delhi in 762 - 1361.

The new things concerning the invasion of Nagarkot including the account of the hilly region of Kanhar and submission of its Rai who gave his daughter to the Sultan; the canal built by cutting a dyke in the valley of Barda and Kanhar, the new citadel built in the vicinity of Sarhind; Nagarkot being loyal ever since its invasion by Muhammad Tughlaq (in 1337); the Rai of Nagarkot, father and son; the siege continued for 6 months; the Rai submits; sultan's visit to the temple of Jwala Mukhi; the temple spared; Farishta cantradicted the story of the temple idol being the image of Noshaba.

The Sultan's campaign against the Sindhians; Sīrat alone gives the full name of Babhania as Sadruddin, mentions Khairuddin and Ālauddin Jam Jauna, and says that the Babhania and Jam Jauna were not identical but two separate figures; Sirat gives the definite information that the Sammas who had overthrown the Sumras were like them Muslims; this is confirmed by Mahru; along with Jam Jauna and Babhaniya many other chiefs offered their submission and came with their followers to the Sultan who favoured them with grant of villages; peculiar features of these men as given are also interesting.

A new and important feature which makes the book unique and an outstanding contribution to artistic history is the minute description with excellent coloured illustrations, showing in different groups, placed at intervals, on ff 94b–102a how the Ashokan pillar was carefully uprooted from its original site on Sirmur hills and as carried, in different positions and stages, to Firūzabād (Delhi) where it was set up. The exquisitely rendered lines of drawing of uniform appearance, evincing aesthetic expressions have enriched the book and enhanced the utility of this outstandingly good book.

One of the novelties of the volume lies in the fairly exhaustive list of drugs, diseases, their remedies, and also a descriptive account of human organs and skeletons. There is no historical review of progress and development of medical learning. But there is an inter-relation between science and society, and medicine has a place in the changing social

order. It is not a laymen's work. Islamic physicians were well-versed in Galen's anatomical works with practical art of medicine. Muslim kings, including Firūz Shāh, encouraged medicinal learning and practice as a work of piety, On reading the two sections devoted to the subject in SĪRAT, one might postulate that the method of treatment, both external an internal, which grew out of Greaco-Arabi learning was based on Muslim conception of hygiene, about germs, use of cold water and vapour baths, laxative, a carefully regulated dietetics, and a well-ordained life, suited to the occasions and emergency. The author's account gives us an idea of the knowledge and theory concerning the principal fields of medicine and surgery as practised, and the specific diseases and the methods of effecting their treatment and cure as prevalent in the 14th century.

Besides some aspects of social, religions and economic interests and fairly detailed account of the cultural activities of the Sultan, the Sīrat contains valuable references to certain fiscal and administrative matters such as the suppression of unlawful practices, abolition of additional, new, superfluous and unjust cesses and imposts (ghair-sharai muhaddisat and wujuhat) and also to the legal sources of revenue such as Kharajarazi (revenue derived from cultivated lands and realised from land, Ushr (tithe or one tenth of their produce realized from the Muslims and generally given to poor Muslims), Zakat (alms or a portion of the Musalman property, given in charity, agreebly to the rules laid down in the Quran), Jazya-i-Hunud (a graduated tax levied on Hindu subjects in lieu of their exemption from military service which was obligatory on all Muslims), Tarakat (heirless property, inheritance of legacies, approppriated by the state after the death of the owner), Khumsi-Ghana' in (one fifth of the spoils of war taken by the state, the remaining four fifths being the share of the warriors) Luqqat (treasure-trove, waifs and strays or anything gathered off the ground or from mines and unclaimed property, which had to be deposited in the State treasury). This is follewed by a brief reference to the "old wicked practice of Musadirat (mulcting, amercing, oppression, spoliation) to which some people had become habituated. They levelled false charges of hoarding of money against traders and of bribery and corruption against some officials. They were punished, with Taazir (whipping or beating with stripes) and Tashhir (public exposure), if they failed to substantiate the charges.

It is impossible that in a book of this kind which is almost a pioneer work in the field wherein we see collected together under one cover a vast amount of miscellaneous matters relating to wards and

politics, some aspects of system of government and administration, learning and education, certain charitable institutions, some affairs of social and economic interests, schemes of irrigation, agricultural methods, appurtenances and products, seasonal crops of Rabi, Kharif, Saif, Shita, peace and plenty, lowering of prices, abolition of unjust and over-burdening taxation, housing conditions and situtation of rich and poor, extirpation of heresy and irreligion, hunting and hunted, and also the relatively and generally unexploited subjects of medicine and sciences should have such statements as are well-considered, well-supported, and avoid a tendency to give a preponderating importance to all or some in details. Some of the things given in SĪRAT are found in other contemporary works but not in the way our author has done. As already said, the SĪRAT is not a definitive' historical work treating the subject as is usually treated in historical chronicles of the medieval period; but there is considerable information in it of historical nature and usefulness and interest.

It is not necessary to enumerate all the points of interest which are of importance historically as well as culturally. That it is not strong upon the historical sides of the matter as is the case with the other contemporary works of Afif or Barani and that it does not cover the entire scope of events and episodes or gives adequate treatment of all aspects of history, is obvious; but it does throw some light on certain neglected and useful lines of history. Chronologically the arrangement is arbitrary, and the few dates given (732, 744, 754, 759, 762, Sha'ban 762, 764, 767, Safar 769, 770, 771 and 772), though valuable, are not very helpful, and the determination of events and of the military campaigns and the construction of a continuous history as adjusted in a chronological frame work, leaves out much that is desirable. Moreover, the author of Sirat may share with Afif the charge of one-sidedness of outlook and of certain loose expressions and thoughts which tend to depreciate its objective value. The dominant threads running through the book is the extent of the influence that was exercised by the Sultan's leadership over matters political and spiritual, embracing all sorts of problems of private as well as of public concerns. But is not Indian history generally studied from the point of view of central Government and the sovereign ?

One may feel inclined to under-rate the value of the work because of the compressed use of political history, lack of thoroughness of essentially historical sketches, and greater emphasis laid on such unconnected subjects religions and ethics, medicine, astronomy and other sciences and branches of learning. We should not, however, forget that

the book was written from the point of view of a medieval historical work and unlike these days of specialization and treatment of history as an exact science, with objective investigation of trustworthy materials and their causes and consequences, the 14th century people with varied interests, delighted in covering a wide range of learning and a variety of subjects of human interests, partly historical and partly descriptive. This diffusion of interests and observations, may, however, appear to have gone against and lessened the value of their historical labour. But are the things that the author gives absolutely devoid of interest?

Some might say that much in the book is of abstract and of theoretical nature. This [applies specially to the homily sayings and sermons put in the mouth of Sultan Firūz Shāh and also ascribed to Sufi saints and sages, much of which has actually been taken from classical works, speciallay the wise observations of poets and writers like Shaikh Sa'di of Shīrāz. Ethics and theology go hand in hand. There was no dearth of people among all classes who laid great stress on upright conduct, love of God and service of man. Again it is a fact that many things embodied in SĪRAT concerning religion and sects and ideas and views about ethical and humanitarianistic subjects have been borrowed from the works of theologians of the Hanafi school of Jurisprudence culled from a section of Ihyāul–Uloom of Imam Ghazzālī and from the Tamhīdat and Aqīdah of Abū Shakūr Salūmi and M. Hafeezuddin Nasafi. the *al–Fihrist* of Ibn Nadeem and *al-Milal wo'n-Nahal* of Shahristani and Ibn Hazm. They provided the author with some information about religions and sects. Though all that we find in SĪRAT about Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism and the Mazdakiya and Manichaean religions had no relation to actually existing conditions in India. we cannot dismiss everything as imaginary, and due entirely to the author's flight of imagination. What we get for instance about the Ghullar or the ultra–Shi'ites and the Mulahidah & Ibahitia of Delhi and Jainagar appears to be based on the author's personal observation or knowledge. All that the author has said about these things and views, tasted pursuits as well as the religious ideas and humanizing attitude of the devout orthodox. Sultan was at best a reflection of the spirit and the atmosphere of the time.

Some people say that the Sīrat is but a bigger version of the Futūhāt from which it has freely drawn upon. There is much that is common to the two undertakings. Both are pioneer works in the field; but the scope of one is larger, while that of the other is comparatively small

and very much restricted. There is no borrowing of the one from the other, and both were independent works of two different authors. One cannot fail to realise the differences which are fairly well-marked in respect of additions and ommission of facts. Reference has been made elsewhere to the evidence furnished in SĪRAT about the presence of Ibahatian and Malahida amongst the *but-parastan* or the idolators of Jainagar. The Futūhāt also refers to these wile wretches and their abominable practices. But SĪRAT alone gives the highly significant additional matters about the practices of plastering the ground with cow-dung, scattering the rice and flowers on the ground and exhorting the deprived Muslims present in the nocturnal assembly to give up their aversion to pork, treat it as clean, and drink wine freely. Again the SĪRAT does not say anything about Ahmad Bihari and his blasphemous utterances for which he, along with one Ruknuddin called Imam Mahdi, and the Mulla-zadgan of 'Ainuddin Multani' who spoke the dangerous words 'Anal Haq' (I am the truth or the Reality or God) were punished. The other discrepancies and dissimilarities also should not be lost sight of.

The First Decade of Portuguese—Vijayanagara Relations

BY

B. S. SHASTRY

As far back as 1925 Father Henry Heras, an authority on Portuguese documents, wrote a paper on "Early Relations Between Vijayanagara and Portugal."[1] His paper covered the period from 1498 to 1515. However, since 1925 several fresh Portuguese sources have seen the light of day. They supply new data on the subject. The present paper is an attempt to revise and bring upto date the interesting story of Portuguese-Vijayanagara relations between 1498 and 1509, utilising the material some of which was not available to the savant.[2]

Vasco da Gama (1498)

Vasco da Gama, discoverer of the sea route to India via the Cape of Good Hope, reached Calicut in May 1498. On his way back home he sailed up the western coast of India in the latter half of the year and passed by the lands which were under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Government of Vijayanagara. He halted at the St. Mary Islands, off Kundapur in South Kanara, on 15 September, exchanged shirts for fish and other provisions with the local people and with their permission placed on one of the islands a banner with the cross and the arms of the king of Portugal.[3] He then proceeded to the Anjediva Islands, off Karwar in North Kanara, where he spent twelve days from 24 September to 5 October, cleaning and repairing ships, gathering fresh water and provisions, coming into contact with the natives and

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1 *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. XVI, No. 2, Bangalore, October, 1925, pp. 63-74.

2 The principal Portuguese works used by Father Heras were (a) Correa, Gaspar: *Lendas da India;* (b) Castenheda, Fernão Lopes de, *Histōria do descobrimento e conquisto da India pelos Portugueses;* (c) Sousa, Manuel de Faria e: *Asia Portuguesa:* and (d) Albuquerque, Afonso de: *Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalbuquerque*. The first three have been utilised by me as well. The last named is not relevant for my purpose. Other Portuguese sources utilised by me are mentioned at their appropriate places in the ensuing notes.

3 Velho, A, *Roteiro da Primeira Viaqem de Vasco da Gama*, Lisbon, 1940, p. 70.

collecting samples of cinnamon.[4] However, he was not aware in whose land he was. He does not seem to have heard of the Vijayanagara Empire as yet. While in Anjediva, he came into contact with Timmayya, chief naval officer of Vijayanagara on the Kanara coast.[5] He was told, however, that Timmayya was a pirate. Accordingly, the latter, who was approaching Anjediva with his men by barques, probably with a view to learning who the strangers were, was bombarded and chased off with the loss of a barque full of provisions.[6]

Pedro Alvares Cabral (1500)

Vasco da Gama reached Portugal in 1499 and early in the following year Pedro Álvares Cabaral was sent to India. The latter reached Anjediva on 22 August. After a stay of about 15 days there, exchanging articles with the natives and awaiting enemy ships from Mecca[7], Cabral proceeded to the Malabar coast where he remained until January, 1501. During this sojourn on the western coast of India, the Portuguese came to know of the great Hindu Empire for the first time. One of the pilots in Cabral's fleet, whose name is not known, took down in his diary the information that he gathered about the Emperor and his people. The pilot heard that the Emperor had 200 or 300 wives who would perform *satisahagamana* on the death of their royal consort; that the people of the Empire too observed this custom; and that there were elephants of great strength and many horses in the Empire.[8]

Among the men in Cabral's fleet there were eight Franciscan friars who converted, it is claimed, 22 or 23 of the natives of Anjediva.[9] Luis do Salvador, one of these friars, played an important role later on in Portuguese-Vijayanagara relations, as we shall see in due course.

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4 *Ibid.*, 71.

5 Barros, João de, *Asia de*, Decada I, Lisbon, 1945, p. 348.

6 Velho, A, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-4; Castanheda, *op. cit.*, Livro I, Coimbra, 1924, p. 65; Barros, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 170-1.

7 Barros, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 191-2; Castanheda, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76; Sousa, *op. cit.*, I, Porto, 1945, p. 133.

8 Greenlee W. B. : *A Viagem de Pedro Alvares Cabral ao Brasil e à India*, Porto, 1951, pp. 179-80.

9 Trinidade, Paulo da, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, II, Lisbon, 1964, pp. 226-7; Herédia, A. J. de, "O Christianismo na India antes da creacão da Diocese de Goa", in *Memória Histórico-Ecclesiàstica da Arquidiocese de Goa; 1533-1933*, ed. Amaro Pinto Lobo, Nova Goa, 1933, p. 20.

João de Nova (1501)

Even before Cabral was back in Portugal, João de Nova had been dispatched to India in March, 1501. Reaching the Kanara coast in August, João sailed into the port of Bhatkal where the Portuguese were strangers then, for their deeds were being talked of all along the coast. The ship-owners at the port, however, were anxious to know the real intention of the Portuguese and therefore some of them sailed up to João in their boats with rice, sugar, hens, oranges and figs for him. Some others went to the Bhatkal chief, who was a feudatory of Vijayanagara, to request him to send his messengers to find out the object of the Portuguese. The latter, however, had peaceful intentions and soon they began commercial dealings with the local merchants in which the Portuguese gained considerably. In the meantime, an unfortunate incident took place in which the Portuguese were robbed. Though the stolen money was recovered, the thieves escaped into the lands of Bhatkal. João decided not to sail away before the culprits were caught and punished. He wanted to show to the natives what would happen to those who misbehaved with the Portuguese. Accordingly, he sent a message to the chief requesting him to apprehend the thieves and hand them over to him. He declared that he would not permit the local ships to leave the port and that he would in fact burn them if the request was not fulfilled. At first the chief tried to avoid the responsibility of arresting the culprits, even though some merchants warned him that they would complain to the Emperor of Vijayanagara, his overlord, if he failed to take measures to safeguard them against the Portuguese threat of burning ships. Soon, however, the chief acted when João made a show of attack. The thieves were arrested and sent to the Portuguese. João ordered that the culprits be hanged after their hands were severed. He then sent a present to the chief who reciprocated and declared that the Portuguese were always welcome to the port for trade.[10]

Vasco da Gama's second voyage (1502)

Vasco da Gama, sent to India again in 1502, exhibited his wanton cruelty by burning ships at the ports of Honavar and Bhatkal, both of which belonged to Vijayanagara. A part of the town of Honavar was also reduced to ashes. His excuse at Honavar was Timmayya, whom he still considered as a pirate, and who escaped into the river Sharavati from da Gama's chasing fleet. Sailing downwards to

10 Correa, *op. cit.*, Tomo I, Part I, Coimbra, 1922, pp. 238–43.

Bhatkal, da Gama found the port well defended by the natives who were already informed of his atrocities at Honavar. He considered this measure of self-defence as an act of hostility and launched an attack after successfully landing some well-equipped soldiers. However, the chief of Bhatkal sued for peace quickly. Vasco da Gama professed that he had no intention of harming Bhatkal, but that he had ordered his men to fight as he found the natives hostile.! He went on to declare that the king of Portugal was the lord of the seas and therefore all the ports where there was navigation should obey the Portuguese king, paying tributes to his men who moved about in his fleet; that by paying tribute alone were the ports free and safe in their trade and commerce; that the ports should not trade in pepper, nor admit Turks nor allow ships from Calicut; that he, Vasco da Gama, would grant peace if the chief was prepared to abide by these conditions of tribute and trade; and finally that he would burn the ships and the port then and there, and every year thereafter, making trade and commerce impossible there, if the chief did not accept these terms. The latter yielded and offered to pay an annual tribute of 1,000 bags of ordinary rice for the Portuguese soldiers and 500 bags of fine rice for the officers. He declared that he could not pay more as he was merely a vassal of the Emperor of Vijayanagara, nor could he pay the tribute in gold or silver. After verification, Vasco da Gama accepted these terms of peace and obedience, whereupon the chief sent his letter of obligation and the rice tribute due. Vasco da Gama gave him a 'safe conduct' and then proceeded to the Malabar coast.[11]

Francisco de Almeida (1505-1509)

It was during the Viceroyalty of Francisco de Almeida that Portugal evolved a definite policy to govern her relations with Vijayanagara. The king of Portugal desired to develop good relations with this Hindu Empire so as to strengthen himself against the common enemies, the Muslims. He instructed Almeida to send an envoy to Vijayanagara. He even gave the Viceroy a letter addressed to the Emperor. However, Almeida was given the option of not sending the envoy if this alternative was likely to serve better the interests of the Portuguese. The Viceroy had another significant instruction, namely, to construct a fort on the island of Anjediva and treat well the people in and around the place.[12] Correa adds that the Viceroy was commanded

11 *Ibid.*, 289-91.
12 Albuquerque, Afonso de, *Cartas de*, II, Lisbon, 1898, pp. 293, 318, 327.

also to open a factory in Vijayanagara to deal in precious tones. Pero Fernandes Tinoco was sent with the Viceroy to be the factor. However, such a factory was not established during Almeida's Viceroyalty.[13]

Almeida reached Anjediva on 13 September, 1505, and commenced the work of fortification on the following day itself. Gaspar Granadim or Gaspar of India, whom Vasco da Gama had taken prisoner at Anjediva in 1498, and who had been in Goa earlier in the service of the Adil Shah of Bijapur, apparently advised the king of Portugal to fortify the island. Gaspar believed that the Portuguese would gain control over the Goa bar from the fortified Anjediva.[14] Besides, the island was situated in the middle of the western coast of India; it was close to the mainland of Kanara; the Portuguese ships could find there fresh water for their men; and, above all, it was a good haven for ships in the monsoon.[15] It may also be added that the island was virtually no man's land in those days. Though it was within his jurisdiction, the Gersoppa chief seems to have neglected its development. A few people lived there, no doubt, but its climate was not good and its soil was infertile.[16] Nevertheless, the Portuguese made the island theirs by building a fortress there. Neither the Emperor nor his vassal, the Gersoppa chief, seems to have challenged the Portuguese fortification of the island.

The fortress was completed in twenty days. The natives, who were treated well by the Portuguese, supplied lime, timber, canes and palm leaves. Almeida destroyed a temple which he found in the island and obtained stone blocks for the walls of fortress[17].

The fortress, however, was not retained long. It was found vulnerable to attacks from Goa and difficult to defend. It was therefore destroyed within two years of its erection.[18]

The Gersoppa chief sought friendship with the Portuguese. In the beginning of October, 1505, while the fortification of Anjediva was in progress, he sent an envoy to Almeida with a present consisting of

13 Correa, *op. cit.*, T. I. Pte. II, pp. 618–9.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 561.
15 Barros, *op. cit*, I, p. 337.
16 Varthema, L. de, *Itinerário*, tr. Vicenzo Spinelli, Lisbon 1949, p. 134.
17 Correa, *op. cit.*, T. I. Pte. II, p. 562.
18 Castanheda, *op. cit.*, II, p. 282,

provisions. Gaspar Correa tells us that Timmayya himself was the envoy.[19]

The friendship, which was agreed upon, did not last long. The details of the circumstance which led to the breach vary from one Portuguese historian to another.[20] However, all agree that hostilities were commenced by the Portuguese against the chief as a result of the latter's refusal to surrender a few horses that he took possession of from his subjects to whom the Portuguese had entrusted the animals which were obtained by them from a Muslim ship which they had chased along the coast from Anjediva until it ran aground off Honavar. The chief did not give up the horses as the shipwreck had taken place within his territorial waters. Almeida attacked Honavar on 18 October. He gained a complete victory. None of the Portuguese soldiers was killed. Almeida alone received a minor injury. Among the defenders, however, 22 were killed and many were wounded. Fourteen of their ships and a part of the city itself were burnt.[21]

Barros informs us that Almeida had no intention of destroying the city as it belonged to a vassal of the Emperor of Vijayanagara with whom the Portuguese wanted to be on friendly terms.[22]

In order to avoid further attacks the Gersoppa chief sought peace which was granted. Timmayya played an important role in the negotiations of the terms of peace. He impressed the Viceroy so well that the two became good friends subsequently. Correa tells us that the chief offered to pay 23,000 *ashrafis* as compensation for the horses. He offered also an annual tribute which was settled later on.[23] Castanheda and Barros say that Almeida sailed away to Cannanore after telling the chief that he would send his son, Lourenço de Almeida, for the final settlement of the peace terms.[24] A letter written by the king of Portugal to the archbishop of Braga on 19 June, 1508, mentions that the Gersoppa chief gave to the Portuguese a place which was a sea port with commercial activities. It was taken possession of by Almeida who appointed

19 Correa, *op. cit.*, T. I, Pte. II, p. 565,

20 *Ibid.*, Castanheda, *op. cit.*, II, p. 236; Barros, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 338–40.

21 *Ibid.*; pp. 578–9; Castenheda, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 237–8; Barros, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 343–6.

22 Barros, *op. cit.*, I, p. 346.

23 Correa, *op. cit.* T. I, Pte. II, p. 579.

24 Castanheda, *op. cit.* II, p. 239; Barros, *op. cit.*, I, p. 347.

officials to collect the dues which came to 1,000 *pratapas* a year.[25] Probably the port referred to in the letter is Mirjan, as may be gathered from another letter written by Afonso de Albuquerque to the king of Portugal on 1 April, 1512. This letter clearly mentions Mirjan as given by the Gersoppa chief whose successor, however, hardly paid the dues from the place.[26] Incidentally, the second letter implies that the Portuguese did not get territorial possession of Mirjan, though both letters say that the chief gave it to the Portuguese. What they really got was an annual tribute in form of customs dues of the port of Mirjan.

While in Anjediva, Almeida had received information that an embassy from Vira Narasimha (1503–09), founder of the Third or the Tuluva Dynasty of Vijayanagara, was awaiting him in Cannanore. The Viceroy reached Cannanore on 22 October and received the embassy on the following day. Narasimha proposed an alliance of friendship between himself and the king of Portugal. He would aid the Portuguese with ships and allow them to build fortresses in his ports, except in Bhatkal which was already rented out; he would supply all that was necessary for the construction of the fortresses; and for greater solidarity of friendship he would give in mrrriage his sister to the prince of Portugal. Besides, Narasimha wrote a letter to the king of Portugal containing all these proposals. He sent rich presents also for the prince.[27] Almeida treated the embassy well, but did not give any concrete reply. It may be gathered from a letter of Pero Fernandes Tinoco to the king of Portugal, dated 21 November, 1505,[28] that Almeida hesitated to commit himself as the Emperor Immedi Narasimha was dead and he was not sure whether Vira Narasimha was the real successor.

It seems that Narasimha sent his embassy even before he received any from Almeida. The former had good reasons to seek Portuguese friendship with eagerness. Throughout his six year reign he was engaged in battles against his enemies and "success did not always attend him."[29] Friendship and assistance were therefore welcome to him from any

25 Albuquerque, *Cartas de*, II, pp. 424–5.

26 *Ibid.*, I, Lisbon, 1884, p. 47.

27 Castanheda, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 240–1.

28 Rego, Antònlo da Silva : *Documentação para a História das Missões.* do *Padroado Português do Oriente, India*, I, Lisbon, 1947, pp. 33, 36.

29 Sastri, K. A. N., *A History of South India*, Oxford, 1955, p. 265.

quarter. He was apparently aware of the naval might of the Portuguese whose exploits were most probably reported to him by the Franciscan friar, Luis do Salvador, who was in Vijayanagara for some time prior to 1505. It is claimed that Luis, with his religious disputations with Brahmins and performance of miracles, impressed the Emperor so much that the latter gave him permission to build churches and preach to those who were willing to listen. He also influenced the Emperor to seek Portuguese friendship and accompanied the embassy to Cannanore.[30]

Though Narasimha was in need of Portuguese friendship Almeida was not in a hurry to give it a concrete shape. The latter was busy constructing fortresses in Cochin and Cannanore in addition to the one he had erected in Anjediva; he was strong enough and needed no aid from Narasimha. However, the situation changed in a couple of years. The fortress of Anjediva was found untenable and was destroyed. He therefore required an alternative site for a fortress on the Kanara coast. Besides, his son, Lourenço, had lost his life fighting against the Muslims at Chaul in January, 1508. It was thus his turn to seek Narasimha's friendship. Accordingly, he sent an embassy to Vijayanagara in 1508, offering to conclude a treaty of friendship, as required by the Emperor in 1505, in return for permission to erect a fortress in Bhatkal. Pero Fernandes Tinoco and Friar Luis do Salvador were Almeida's ambassadors. The Emperor received them well, but merely talked to them in general terms of peace and friendship without committing himself on anything concrete.[31] By this time Narasimha had consolidated his position by driving back Adil Shah of Bijapur and putting down rebellions within his Empire. He therefore did not need Portuguese aid and friendship in 1508 as badly as he did in 1505. He was not prepared to forego the valuable port of Bhatkal, besides. The Portuguese ambassadors therefore had to return empty-handed.

Another interesting development took place in 1508–9. When Almeida was yet in Malabar in 1508, Timmayya sought his help against the Bhatkal chief. However, on reaching Bhatkal Almeida found the belligerents at peace. Early in the following year he again went to Honavar to see Timmayya, who, however, had 'run away' in fear of his sovereign, emperor of Vijayanagara, who had come to the temple of

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30 Rego, *op. cit.*, V, Lisbon, 1951, pp. 398–9.

31 Barros, *op. cit.*, II, Lisbon, 1945, p. 112.

Gokarna to weigh himself against gold.[32] Was the sovereign annoyed with Timmayya for fighting with another vassal without hesitating to seek aid from the foreigners?

Before concluding this paper a word may be added concerning the attitude of the Imperial Government of Vijayanagara towards the Portuguese who waged battles freely against the subjects of the former at Honavar and Bhatkal. The Government must have been aware of the burning of ships and cities, and of the extraction of tributes from its vassals. But there is no indication of any measure taken by it to punish the foreigners or to prevent them from repeating the misdeeds. Two explanations for its inactivity may be ventured. First, the last two decades of the fifteenth century and the opening decade of the sixteenth found the Vijayanagara Empire in civil war and also subject to Muslim attacks. The Saluva Dynasty replaced the Sangama Dynasty in 1486 but in the opening decade of the sixteenth century the former dynasty itself was set aside by the Tuluva Dynasty. Immadi Narasimha (1491-1505) the last of the Saluvas, was only a puppet in the hands of his powerful generals, Narasa Nayaka (1491-1503) and Vira Narasimha (1503-1505), who established the Tuluva Dynasty in 1505. Adil Shah of Bijapur was engaged in hostilities against Vijayanagara and the loyal supporters of the Saluvas were in revolt. Owing to this precarious state of affairs neither the puppet Emperor nor his general was in a position to assist his vassals against the foreigners. The second probable explanation is that the Imperial Government had no desire to incur the foreigners' hostility. In the Adil Shahis of Bijapur both Vijayanagara and the Portuguese had a common enemy and in those difficult days one more powerful enemy was clearly undesirable for Vijayanagara. It is possible therefore that the Government was eager to gain the foreigners' friendship. That is why in 1505 even Vira Narasimha sent his embassy to Almeida at Cannanore. And the Gersoppa chief might have acted under instructions from Narasimha when the chief also dispatched an embassy to Almeida at Anjediva.

32 Castanheda, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 424-5, 441.

Bengal Conspiracy of 1757—A Hindu Discontent?

BY

SUBHASH MUKHERJEE

The historians should reconsider the incidents that produced a great upheaval in Bengal in 1757, resulting in the final overthrow of Sirajuddaulah from the masnad. Adventure, as well as treachery were the order of the day after the decline of the imperial power at Delhi. Aurangzeb's death practically marked a complete change in the power politics of the Empire and as a result, the vast and mighty fabric of the empire started disintegrating. There were chaos and distintegration everywhere in the 'Subah' of Bengal. Plunder, arson and loot became very common. The people could not live in peace, the security of life and property became a thing of the past.

The condition of this anarchical state had been taken advantage of by some of the adventurous people. Consequently Bengal subah, as it is far off from Delhi, had also fallen a prey to these people, such as Murshid Quli Khan (1717), Alivardi Khan (1740), Mir Jafar Khan (1757) and even Mir Qasim Khan (1760). All of them were responsible for ousting their masters from the 'masnad' and thus in the strict sense of the term, can be described as treacherous. When this type of acquiring power was gaining popularity, it was the irony of fate that only Mir Jafar Khan had been singled out by the historians and has been termed as traitor. Of course, Mir Jafar was responsible for his acts and that charge could be levelled against him after the battle of Plassey.

Alivardi Khan usurped the government of Bengal from Sarfaraz Khan and established a strong and stable government. The unrest that had been created by the supporters of the last dynasty had been suppressed by Alivardi. The repeated Maratha incursions into Bengal had also been amicably settled by him in 1752. The success of Alivardi was due to the Hindu support to him. The Nawab preferred their services and employed many of them in the civil, as well as in the military departments. He was very much satisfied by the work of his Hindu officials and the Nawab believed that "a Mahomedan was like a seive, much of what was poured in went through, while a Hindu was like a sponge which retained all, but on pressure, gave back as required, what it had absorbed".[1]

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1 Mazumdar, P. C., *The Musnud of Murshidabad* (Cal. 1905) p. 23.

Sirajuddaulah who was nominated by Alivardi as his successor in May 1752, had been spoilt by the excessive love and affection of the latter. This character of the future ruler of Bengal was well-known to his Hindu subjects. Sirajuddaulah was "young in years but old in vice".[2] Thus the people of Bengal grew discontented with Sirajuddaulah even before his accession to the masnad. Rajah Durlabhram, the diwan of Alivardi, wanted to check all the vices of the prince and so he went to Alivard Khan to redress the grievances against Sirajuddaulah. The old Nawab, knew well about the character of his grand-son, gave him some fraternal advice and mildly rebuked him, saying that the great nobles might be kept content by the behaviour of one, on whom lay the future security of the kingdom. Sirajuddaulah came out of the Nawab's chamber in a huff, assembled all the high officials of the State and threatened them with severe punishment[3], if they committed this sort of offence against him any more. The high officials of Alivardi because alarmed and speachless, out of great fear of the future Nawab. As a result, Mir Jafar Khan, the 'Boxi and the Paymaster general of the forces, who was also related to Alivardi by marriage and Rajah Durlabhram, the diwan of the old nawab, remained discontented against Sirajuddaulah.

Alivardi Khan was very pessimistic about the future independence of Bengal. Thus when his end was drawing near, he had taken precautions to ensure the right of his successor to the masnad. He therefore planned that his favourite grandson should be surrounded by powerful supporters. He thus ensured the support of many powerful chiefs in his court, the most notable of them being the Seths, Mir Jafar Khan and Rajah Durlabhram. Mir Jafar Khan was bought with costly presents and by making him the most influential person in the state. He also told these officials that the Europeans were like a hive of bees "of whose honey you might reap the benefit, but if you disturbed their hive they would sting you to death"[4]. Alivardi was right, as he doubted the ability of his grandson to cope with the English.

The first act of Sirajuddaulah after his accession to the masnad of Bengal, was to plunder the wealth of Ghasite Begum, the eldest daughter

2 Busteed, H. E., *Echoes from old Calcutta* (Ca 1. 2nd. Ed. 1888) p.4

3 Mukhopadhyay. Rajiblochan: *Maharaja Krishna Chandra Rayasha Charitream* (In Bengali, Calcutta, New Ed. 1355 B.S. ie. 1948) p.24.

4 Scrafton L, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan* (Lond., 1763), p. 46.

of Nawab Alivardi. Sirajuddaulah apprehended the greatest danger from her as she might set up a rival candidate to the throne.[5] Immediately after Ghasite Begum was confined at Motijhil, her wealth and property had been confiscated by Sirajuddaulah. As she was deprived of her property and home, she only waited for a suitable opportunity to take revenge upon Sirajuddaulah.

Sirajuddaulah had inaugurated his accession by acts of folly and thus aroused antagonism among officials of high rank. He was still a minor and had little education. No wonder that he committed serious mistakes and his opponents took advantage of each of them.

The new Nawab displaced many of the officers of the old regime and filled up the vacancies with young and unknown men. Mohan Lal, the superintendent of his household affairs was made the diwan of the province and also his prime minister. The young Nawab also conferred on him the title of Maharajah. The Nawab also appointed Mir Madan as the General of household troops. But Mir Jafar retained the post of 'Boxi' or paymaster of the army. Rajah Durlabhram also apparently retained the post of diwan[6].

The Nawab entrusted the affairs of the state, even the power of appointment and dismissal of all ministers to Mohanlal and conferred many favours on him. As a result, the latter did not behave properly with the leading courtiers of Alivardi's time. His superior position in the court clashed with the interests of Rajah Durlabhram. So the Rajah was wounded at heart[7] and waited only for a suitable opportunity.

It was Rajah Durlabhram who played an important part in the great conspiracy that was hatched before the battle of Plassey against Sirajuddaulah. It was his consent and active support that helped Mir Jafar Khan to produce a great upheaval in Bengal. Mir Jafar could not have ventured on such a bold scheme against his master without the help of Dulabhram. The Rajah was looked upon by the chief courtiers as well as the Hindu masses, as their leader. The Hindu discontent that

5 Ikramuddaulah, the brother of Sirajuddaulah was the adopted son of Ghasite Begum. But as he pre-deceased Alivardi, there was a chance that Ghasite Begum might support Shaukat Jung, the Governor of Purnea and the son of Sayid Ahmed.

6 Stewart, C, *History of Bengal* (Revised Edn. 1904) p. 566 also Hill *Bengal in 1756-57*. Vol-I, pp. XVII-XVIII.

7 *Muzaffaranamah* (Eng. Trans.). p. 65

was rampant during Sirajuddaulah's time[8], was exploited by him for the purpose of removing the young Nawab from the masnad.

Rajah Durlabhram was not the only man who had received such treatment from the Nawab. Mir Jafar Khan, the paymaster General of his forces had also fallen a victim to Sirajuddaulah's wrath. This officer was raised to a high position by the favour of Alivardi and commanded the army of the state. His own forces were also considerable. But he was suddenly dismissed from the post, which was later given to Mir Madan. This treatment by Nawab grievously offended Mir Jafar, who remained absent from the court for a number of days. Not content with these, the Nawab also used harsh language against Mir Jafar as well as Durlabhram[9]. But they were powerful persons and assembled their troops in their houses and sent messengers to the Nawab saying., "Send us the pay due to our soldiers, so that we may make our arrangements and leave you".[10]

Another man of importance, Jagat Seth was also abused by Sirajuddaulah. It is said that the Nawab had once struck him on his face in the open court. The Seths were treated with great respect by the late Nawab Alivardi Khan. Ghulam Husain also regarded them as the principal citizens of Murshidabad. Naturally these men were tired of living under such an administration and wanted to remove Sirajuddaulah. They collected the discontented nobles under their banner and promised them an effectual support.[11] Graudally, Durlabhram also joined this league[12]. The league was further strengthened by the support of Manik Chand, the late Governor at Calcutta, who had been imprisoned by Sirajuddaulah for his flight from that place.[13]

Another man of cunning, who instigated the conspirators, was Omichand. Due to the fall of Calcutta, he had been a sufferer to a considerable extent. After the treaty of Alinagar he was removed to Murshidabad, where by dint of cunning, he favourably impressed the

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8 Rajiblochan: *Maharaj Krishna Chandra*, p. 25.
9 Husain, Ghulam, *Seir Mutakherin* (Eng.Trans., 1902)Vol. II, p.193
10 *Muzaffarnamah*, p. 74
11 *Seir*, II, p. 193,
12 Hill, S. C., *Three Frenchmen in Bengal* (Lond., 1903), pp 88-89.
13 Orme, R, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* (Lond., 1778), Vol-II, pp. 147-148

Nawab. He maintained an outward show of loyalty to the Nawab but secretly joined the consipirators.[14] Omichand was the great millionaire of his day. He could influence the political movements in the court of Murshidabad. He was a contractor for providing the Company's investment during forty years; and realised more than a 'crore' of rupees. Most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to him and thus he lived in a royal style.[15]

Maharajah Krishna Chandra of Nadia, the most prominent of the Hindu Zamindars of those days, became hostile to Sirajuddaulah. He was averse to the rule of Alivardi Khan as well. Soon he was dragged into the great conspiracy by Rajah Durlabhram.[16]

Thus the zamindars of Bengal, most of whom were Hindus, wanted to remove Sirajuddaulah from the masnad. All of them went to Durlabhram for redress of their grievances.[17] The present Nawab had displayed the severity of his nature on many occasions. The spark had now turned into a blazing fire, when a rumour spread that Sirajuddaulah had attempted to seduce Tara,[18] the widowed daughter of Rani Bhawani.

In those days there were no public places where the discontented nobles could meet together for holding discussion. But, it is said, they frequently spent their leisure time in the house of Jagat Seth. In course of time the house of the Seths became the venue of secret association of the zamindars of Bengal.[19] Rajah Durlabhram and his party maintained the secret relation by their occasional presence in the house. Rajah Durlabhram told this secret assembly about the deplorable condition of the country under the rule of Sirajuddaulah. Mere advice could not change his way of life. So the Rajah requested the nobles to decide

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14 Gleig, G. R.: *The Life of Robert, first Lord Clive*, (Lond., New Edn. 1869) p. 67.

15 Carey, W. H: *The good Old Days of Honourable John Company* (Calcutta, New Edn., 1964) pp. 35–36

16 Rajiblochan: *Maharaj Krishna Chandra*, p. 28

17 *Ibid.*, p. 25, *The Zamindars of Burdwan*, Nadia, Dinajpur, Bishnupur, Midnapore, and Birbhum went to Durlabhram. The zamindar of Birbhum was the only Muslim.

18 Mazumdar: *Musnud*, p. 31.

19 Maitreya, A. K: *Sirajuddaulah* (In Bengali, Calcutta, 1304 B. S.) p. 67.

their future course of action.[20] But on that day the assembly adjourned as it could not come to a conclusion about the question of succession after the deposition of the present Nawab. So Jagat Seth proposed that Maharajah Krishna Chandra of Nadia might be consulted in this matter.

By a special messenger, Krishna Chandra was invited and he appeared before this assembly secretly. Some of the conspirators proposed Hindu rule but Krishna Chandra proposed the name of Mir Jafar Khan[21] and said that he was related to the late Nawab Alivardi Khan. But Mir Jafar had not yet decided to take active part in removing the house of Alivardi Khan and so he declined the offer.

When Mir Jafar Khan did not agree to the proposal of succession, Rajah Durlabhram instigated Yar Latif Khan a divisional commander of Siraj's army, against the Nawab.[22] By the support of the diwan Yar Latif wanted to meet Watts, the chief of the English factory at Kassimbazar, in secret. Watts sent Omichand, whom Latif informed about his secret design. In return, he offered to enter into any agreement with the English.[23]

The hesitation of Mir Jafar to succeed Sirajuddaulah, was removed after sometime, when he came to know about the firm resolution of the confederates, who were always ready to support him.[24] So when Mir Jafar agreed to succed Sirajuddaulah, Durlabhram left the side of Yar Latif Khan. The confederacy of the conspirators, headed by Durlabhram, Mir Jafar and the Seths now firmly believed that the concurrence of the English was essential to the completion of their wishes to remove Sirajuddaulah. Jagat Seth, invited Clive to join them. Rajah Durlabhram had also an agent at Calcutta, inciting the English for the same purpose.[25]

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20 Rajiblochan: *Maharaj Krishna Chandra*, p. 25

21 Roy, N. N, *Murshidabad Kahani* (In Bengali, Calcutta, 2nd Edn. 1310 B. S. pp 66-67. Also Rajiblocahn: *Maharaja Krishna Chandra* p. 33

22 Orme, *Indostan*, II. p. 148

23 *Ibid.*

24 Watts, W: *Memoirs of Revolution in Bengal* (Lond., 1760) pp. 81-82

25 Salim, Ghulam Husain: *Riyāzu-s-Salātīn* (Eng. Trans., Calcutta 1902) p 371 f.n.
Also *Seir*, II, p. 228

In those unfortunate days of the mid-18th century, the political turmoil had been further aggravated by the intrusion of different foreign traders. The English and the French Companies in particular continued an arduous struggle and carried on senseless and destructive quarrels in the soil of Bengal. The servants of the Company acquired money by questionable means. It was interesting to note the salaries of the Company's servants in 1757. Mr. Roger Drake received £ 200 per annum, senior merchants £ 40, junior merchants £ 30, factors £ 15, writers £5, etc. These salaries were also not regularly paid. But these servants of the Company cared little for their salaries as they indulged in private trade which brought far more profitable returns to them.[26] Within the Company's jurisdiction in Calcutta, there were also several markets, which were profitable sources of income to the Company.[27] Naturally these English officials were tempted to fish in troubled waters to gain their selfish ends. Sirajuddaulah was not well-disposed towards the English. The doubts and apprehensions that rose from the court of Murshidabad, spread within a short time over Calcutta. A few letters written by Sirajuddaulh to Mons. Bussy in the Deccan had been intercepted by the English. Thus the wrath of the Nawab against the English increased daily. The English Resident at Murshidabad, Watts, was threatened by the Nawab.[28] So Clive felt that "there could be neither peace nor security while such a monster as the Nabob reigned".[29] It was also clear before the officials at Calcutta that many people wanted the downfall of Sirajuddaulah. "The chief people in this movement were Hindus"[30]. So the timid and weak-minded man Mir Jafar by the support of Durlabhram and Jagat Seth, came forward to invite the Engish when he noticed that the political situation was in his favour. So immediately after, Yar Latif's appeal to the English, Mir Jafar and Durlabhram sent a man, named Khawaza Petrus to Watts and induced the English to support the cause of Mir Jafar Khan and to fight on his side.[31] In lieu of that Mir Jafar was ready to make any concession to the English.

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26 Carey: *John Company*, p. 29.

27 These were Bara Bazar, Sobha Bazar, Dhobapara Bazar, Bagh Bazar, Hatkhola Bazar, Charles Bazar, New Bazar, Shyam Bazar, Ghastola Bazar, Begum Bazar, John Nagore and Mondy Bazar, situated within the jurisdiction of Calcutta.

28 Blochmann, *Tarikh-i-Mansuri* (Eng. Trans., 1877), pp. 90–91

29 Marshman, J. C, *The History of India* (Lond., 1867), Vol-I, p, 278

30 Sarkar, J. N, *History of Bengal* (Dacca, 1948) Vol-II, pp. 458-486.

31 Scrafton, *Reflections*, pp. 80–81.

Watts immediately informed Clive about the detailed discussion with the confederates along with his personal remark that " Meer Jaffer was by far the properst person to be elevated to that rank."[32] Consequently Yar Latif's claim was passed over in favour of Mir. Jafar Khan. So Clive and the English in Calcutta, decided to support Mir Jafar. Watts was authorised to conclude the terms of the negotiations with the confederates. Clive had already taken measure by the advice of Mir Jafar and sent half of his troops to Calcutta and the rest into the foot of Chandernagore. It created suspicion in the mind of the Nawab who ordered Durlabhram to check the English march.

But for the absence of Durlabhram from Murshidabad, who was then ordered by the Nawab to station his troops at Plassey, Watts could not formulate the secret treaty with Mir Jafar. Both Mir Jafar and Watts felt the absence of Durlabhram, whose consent and active co-operation to the terms of the treaty, seemed essential.[33] So Clive wrote a letter to the Nawab, requesting him to recall the army from Plassey, under the command of Durlabhram. But instead of removing the army, the Nawab ordered Mir Jafar Khan to proceed to Plassey to reinforce Rajah Durlabhram there.[34]

Owing to the absence of Durlabhram and Mir Jafar from Murshidabad, it became difficult for Watts to finish the treaty immediately. So Clive planned a diplomatic move to remove suspicion from the mind of the Nawab about the actual designs of the English. He intimated his plans to Watts, informing him that he (Clive) would write a letter to the Nawab stating that the Colonel has sent Scrafton to him on an affair of utmost importance with a request that the Nawab would give immediate orders to Durlabhram and Mir Jafar not to detain the messenger and as soon as Scrafton would arrive before the Nawab, he would inform him of the proposals the Marathas had made to the English.[35]

Accordingly Clive sent Scrafton to the court of the Nawab and delivered the letter of Clive. Scrafton then delivered the Maratha letter, by which the Nawab seemed to be pleased very much. The

32 Watts, *Memoirs*, p 82

33 Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, P. CXCII.

34 Orme, *Indostan*, II, p 150.

35 Letter from Clive to Watts, dt. 19.5.1857 vide Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol-II, p. 387).

suspicion of the Nawab about the actual designs of the English was finally removed by the repeated requests of Scrafton. At last the Nawab yielded to his arguments, " recalling his whole army to Muxadavad."[36]

Mir Jafar arrived at Murshidabad on 30th May, but as Durlabhram remained at Plassey for sometime, the former grew impatient of the absence of the latter. Mir Jafar faced various problems which he could not solve without the help of Durlabhram. By a personal messenger, Watts delivered Mir Jafar two treaties, real and fictitious, explained the intention of deceiving Omichand and requested Mir Jafar to give his consent to the actual treaty.[37] Besides the terms of the treaty, Watts also demanded rupees forty lakhs for the navy, but Mir Jafar could not give any definite answer without consulting Durlabhram, who as the Nawab's treasurer had knowledge of the financial position of the treasury.[38] Moreover Mir Jafar had already promised Durlabhram to make no commitment without his knowledge and so he refused to sign the treaty.[39] The English now found no alternative but to wait till Durlabhram's return from Plassey.

Durlabhram arrived at Murshidabad on 3rd June. On his arrival, he was asked to study the articles of the treaty and after a careful scrutiny, he objected to the exorbitant demands of the English and declared that the whole of the Nawab's treasury would be unable to meet.[40] In veiw of these arguments from Durlabhram, Watts began to despair. At last the English managed Durlabhram by allowing him a commission of five percent share from the Nawab's treasury. So at last Durlabhram resolved to sign the treaty as it stood.[41] "Having consulted Roydullub and the heads of the party", Mir Jafar concluded the treaty with the English on 4th June and invited the English to come to Murshidabad.[42]

The promise made by Mir Jafar and supported by Durlabhram to betray the Nawab at the time of war, strengthened the decision of the English to commence war without any delay. After making all necessary

36 Orme, *Indostan*, II, p 157.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
38 *Ibid.* Also Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol-I. p. CXCII
39 *Ibid.*
40 *Ibid.*
41 Watts. *Memoirs*, p 97.
42 Law, J, *Memoire Sur Quelques Affairs De L' Empire Mogol.* (In French, Paris, 1913), pp. 166-167.

preparations, the English army began to march to Murshidabad. Meanwhile, the English Resident, Watts, fled away from Murshidabad under the pretext of a hunting expedition and joined Clive in safety.[43] This flight of Watts convinced the Nawab that a rupture with the Company was inevitable. But he had already disbanded half of his unpaid army and the rest became mutinous for arrears. Instead of trying to postpone the conflict, he reconciled with Mir Jafar, who had taken an oath on the 'Koran' to remain faithful.[44]

Meanwhile, the advance of the English force was anxiously watched at Murshidabad, where the strength of the conspirators was daily increasing in number. Manik Chand had already promised his support to the Seths.[45]

The Nawab's army also commenced its march on 18th June. A part of the Nawab's army began to march under the command of Durlabhram and started for Plassey. His forces appeared at Plassey before the arrival of the Nawab. Durlabhram lost no opportunity of bringing about the downfall of his master. He was only careful about the conditions of the secret treaty with the English.[46] Durlabhram soon won over the officers of the army of Sirajuddaulah by offers of money.[47] So before the arrival of Sirajuddaulah at Plassey, Durlabhram gathered a large number of soldiers around him, while few were left with Sirajuddaulah.

It is needless to write in detail about the battle of Plassey and the subsequent exchange of fire on both sides. It will be sufficient to say that by the advice of Durlabhram, Sirajuddaulah ordered Mohanlal to retreat.[48] when victory seemed inclined to him. The retreat of Mohanlal from the battlefield followed the retreat of the Nawab himself. It facilitated the English victory and their troops took possession of the deserted tent of the Nawab. In an evil hour for the dynasty and for himself, the Nawab yielded to the persuasion of Durlabhram.

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43 Hill, S. C, *Threc Frenchmen*, p 107.
44 Law, *Memoire*. pp. 166-167.
45 Letter from Watts to Clive, dt. 6.6.1757 (vide, Hill's *Bengal*, Vol-II p. 400).
46 *Seir*, II, p. 230.
47 Ali Khan, Muhammed, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*. (Eng. Trans.) by Elliot & Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol-VIII, Lond, 1877, p. 328).
48 Malleson, G. B. *The Decisive Battles of India* (4th Edn, 1914), p. 63; also Forrest, G. *The Life of Lord Clive*, Vol-I (Lond., 1918), p. 458

The news of the English victory at Plassey reached Calcutta on 26th June; Clive also reported it to the Select Committee that during the battle, Durlabhram maintained neutrality.[49] Clive then sent congratulatory letters to Durlabhram, Yar Latif and Manick Chand for their victory against the Nawab. All of them joined the English on their march to Murshidabad.

The victory of Plassey and the consequent defeat of Sirajuddaulah created a tumult in the mind of the people of Murshidabad. It was said by them that Clive had been bought by the Seths at a great expense to relieve Bengal from the tyranny of Sirajuddaulah. They ascribed the victory of Plassey entirely due to the Seths and Rajah Durlabhram.[50]

Thus it is evident that the Hindus played an important part during the battle of Plassey. There were sufficient causes for this participation. After the breakdown of the mighty Mughals in India, there was a revival of Hindu feeling. In Bengal, the influential Hindus had greater economic and political power. They filled up the position of court bankers, revenue administrators and treasurers. In 1727, Shujauddin thwarted his son's succession to the throne, mainly by the support of his Hindu officials. This influence of the Hindus were greater during the rule of Alivardi Khan as well. Thus when men like Jagat Seth and Durlabhram were threatened with circumcision by the Nawab, they conspired to overthrow Sirajuddaulah. Still, they did not try to usurp the political authority for themselves. It was such a time that they had to substitute a fresh Muslim authority.

Thus the Hindus were also been accused by the historians for joining in the conspiracy against Sirajuddaulah and paved the way for establishing political suzerainty of the English. But it should be borne in mind that the political consciousness was totally absent at that time among the masses. They paid scant regard for the rise and fall of any ruler. They regarded that as the English were foreigners, so also all the Bengal Nawabs from Murshid Quli Khan to Mir Jafar Khan. Thus they failed to understand that their seeking help from the English, might endanger the ultimate interests of their country.

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49 Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II, p. 30.

50 Hill: *Three Frenchmen*, p. 118.
Also Little, J. H, The House of Jagat Seth (*Bengal Past and Present*, 1921, p. 30).

The news of the English victory at Plassey reached Calcutta on June the [illegible]. The advancement of the [illegible] Conspiracy [illegible] the period [illegible] Dulabhram [illegible] between Rai Durlabhram, Yar Latif and Manik Chand for their victory against the Nawab. All of them [illegible] the English [illegible] to Murshidabad.

The victory at Plassey and the subsequent defeat of Siraj-ud-daulah created a [illegible] in the mind of the people of Murshidabad. It was [illegible] that [illegible] Clive had been brought to the [illegible] to rescue Bengal from the tyranny of Siraj-ud-daulah. They [illegible] the victory of Plassey entirely due to the Seths and Rai Durlabhram.[89]

It is very clear that the Hindus played an important part during the Battle of Plassey. There were some curious causes for the participation. After the breakdown of the mighty Mughal empire in India, there was a revival of Hindu feelings in Bengal. The Hindus [illegible] had strong [illegible] political power. They [illegible] up the position of [illegible]. In [illegible] the [illegible] of the Hindus [illegible]. They [illegible] the Nawab, [illegible] prepared to overthrow Siraj-ud-daulah. But they did not try to usurp the political power for themselves. It was [illegible] time [illegible] and [illegible] Muslim authority.

Thus the Hindus have been blamed by the historians [illegible] for the political [illegible] of the English. But [illegible] political [illegible] was [illegible] absent [illegible]. They [illegible] that [illegible] the [illegible] Mir Jafar [illegible] from [illegible] Omi Chand, Yar Latif Khan. They failed to understand that [illegible] the [illegible] of the English [illegible] independence.

89. Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. II p. 31.
90. Hill: Three Frenchmen p. [illegible].
Also [illegible] The [illegible] Seth [illegible]
[illegible]

Dr. Hove's Travelogue—A Document for the Economic History of Western India*

BY

N. BENJAMIN

In 1852, Robert Brown, a noted British Botanist, drew the attention of Alexandar Gibson, a civil servant of the Government of India to a manuscript entitled *Tours for scientific and economical research made in Guzerat, Kattiawar, and the Conkuns*, in 1787-88 by one Dr. Hove** in the Banksian Library. This document, Brown told Gibson, contained some interesting information on Indian cotton. The latter brought it to the notice of the Government of Bombay and by their order published it in the *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government No. XVI-New Series* (Bombay, 1855). This document, though available in a published form and used in the earliest official gazetteers, has remained neglected. Students of the socio-economic history of India in the eighteenth century have not used it in their writtings. V.P.S. Raghuvanshi's posthumous work *Indian Society in the eighteenth century* (New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1969), for example, though avowedly based mainly on European travelogues, does not include it in the bibliography. P. Nightingale also does not use it in her study of *Trade and Empire in Western India 1784–1806* (Cambridge University Press, 1970). More recently, a paper on the problem of "Raw cotton of Western India: output, transportation and marketing: 1750–1850" presented for discussion in the Maratha History Seminar—1971 at Bombay by Amalendu Guha too did not use the invaluable information

* This paper had been presented for discussion at the Third All-India Maratha History organized by the University of Bombay, Bombay, on Nov. 5-8, 1971.

** Dr. Hove was a Polish surgeon. He travelled through the cotton districts of India in 1787-88 A. D. to ascertain the volume and variety of cotton which India could supply for the English requirements. This was to face any possible interruption of the supply of American cotton to England. It is not clear from Dr. Hove's travelogue whose instance he carried out his investigations. But it seems that he was not given this assignment by the East India Company. This follows from the unhelpful attitude of the latter's Governor towards him.

regarding raw cotton which this document contains. Equally importantly, Sachidananda Bhattacharya's *A Dictionary of Indian History* (University of Calcutta, 1967), though includes life sketches of foreign travellers in India, does not even include the name of Hove. More examples can be cited to show that this document has remained neglected. One possible reason for its neglect is that it is not easily available to the scholars to read. The library of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, which specializes in research in the Maratha History, does not have it. The National Library, Calcutta, too does not have a copy of it. Nor is it available in the Library of the Royal Empire Society, London. This follows from the exclusion of this book from their respective catalogues. Fortunately, however, a copy is available in the Servants of India Society's Library, Poona. Its library no. is 48.231.M5 A855 101542. Its size is 24 cms. × 19 cms. The condition of this book is distinctly bad. It has iv+199 pages. Each of its pages has been pasted in-between two transparent papers. There are no contents in the beginning of the book. Instead, there is a general index. There are no maps although it has six illustrations.

The document is, by and large, devoid of quantitative data. But it contains useful qualitative information on the socio-economic conditions then prevailing in Western India, specially the cultivation of cotton. Dr. Hove's discussion regarding cropping pattern, manufactures, trade, etc. is not merely city by city but in some places even for the villages separately. This is specially remarkable because, of late, the interest in regional socio-economic studies is growing. Whatever his antecedents may have been, it is evident from the travelogue that he was a keen observer, thinking and saying little about himself, but only noting down the things which he saw. Neither heavy rains and muddy roads, nor a country infested by robbers discouraged him. He coolly talks of pitching his tent in the monsoon as also of shooting down the arms Gracias who had burned down his tent and plundered his belongings. As a result, his travelogue contains a graphic account of the socio-economic conditions in Western India in 1787-88. In the present paper, an attempt is made to quote some interesting extracts from it. It is hoped that this will bring it to the notice of the students of the eighteenth century Maratha socio-economic history.

II

Dr. Hove started his journey on Tuesday, the 3rd of April 1787, when he "embarked on board the *Warren Hastings*, at Gravesend" in

Kent, England, and reached the island of Bombay on July 29. Here he refers to fish-catching and says: "On passing the rice or paddy plantations, we met with many boys angling for fish in these fields near the (Parelle) road, which were under water. Expressing my surprise on such an uncommon meeting, Dr. Scott told me, that in the rainy season fish are found in every field on this side of the island. As those places have no communication with the sea, nor birds that prey on fish, which might bring them over, such a strange phenomenon is not easily to be accounted for" (p. 7). Hove was perhaps misinformed here. The boys might be catching the crabs (which is common even now) and not the fish. He then talks of the Malabar Hill and says: "Europeans build houses here, for the benefit of fresh air, which are remarkably expensive, on account of the rocks, which are previously removed. Most of them are now in Parsies' possession, which purchase from the owner on his leaving India, at a high rate, and as there is not an established price of most commoditys, but is paid by custom, as they express it, they lend the house to Europeans at a most exorbitant price, and there are hardly ten houses in the island"(p. 8). This shows that (i) the Malabar Hill was a European residential locality; (ii) the custom of high rents of houses was prevalent there in those days also; and, (iii) the Parsies were the house-owners.

From Bombay, Hove went to Colaba. He says: "On the Southern extremity of this island stands a light house, where fire is kept during the night as a signal for the ships which come in the Bombay harbour" (p. 9). This suggests that Colaba must have been a fairly important port. Hove then adds: "The soil of this island is sand and little cultivated, except a grove of several hundreds of coconut trees, which are planted in straight lines, and watered from wells that are built solely for that purpose. The inhabitants draw the toddy from them, and chiefly maintain themselves by it" (p. 10). He made an excursion to the nearby woods where cocoanut plantations were grown. He says: "The planters are chiefly *fishermen* of *Portuguese extraction.* For each of these cocoanut trees they pay to the Company five rupees a year, and so much an acre for the Areca and betel. For the mango and jack they pay nothing" (p. 10). This shows that the rates of land revenue charged by the Company varied with different crops.

After visiting some nearby places, Dr. Hove went to Thana. He says: "The rice fields, by their voluptuous growth, pointed me out that the soil is superior to Bombay. The plantations are all laid out in the plains, and divided in equal squares. Each of these plantations

is banked up about two feet high, wherein the water is preserved a long time after the rains have ceased. The farmers here have lately introduced a method of cultivating their rice from the Cuzerat" (p. 13). This was, in fact, the method of the transplantation of the rice plants. Dr. Hove comments: "This mode.....saves to the farmer not only a considerable quantity of seeds, but likewise brings him a triplicate crop" (p. 13). This reflects the interest of the farmers in agricultural productivity.

Crossing Surat and Broach, our traveller entered the territories of the Raja of Ahmed. He says ".... I met with a cotton shrub which I have never before observed. A Portuguese Padri, informed me that the inhabitants have obtained this species from Junaghur (Junagarh), and cultivated it for the fineness of its wool during several years; but having found that the produce is not equivalent to their former, they left off cultivating it these five years" (p. 41). The Padri gave the following reasons for this:

(1) The cotton shrubs grew high and spread so that other grains which the inhabitants used to sow amongst cotton were destroyed: and

(2) This variety of cotton possessed much sweetness and hence the insects destroyed a major part of it before it reached maturity.

Dr. Hove made an excursion to the cotton plantations of the red species which were situated close to the river. "Some of these plantations I found cut at 2 feet from the ground, and in two of them I found the planters shorten the delicate young sprouts of the shurbs which were sown in the end of the rains. The cause for so doing was ascribed to me, that as this species is suffered to grow for two seasons, or two crops, and as it grows by nature very slender, they cut it twice a year, that the plant might form a bushy shrub, by which the produce is increased for the next years' crop" (p. 41).

Dr. Hove also made an execursion to Burka (?) and Tarapur. Here he found: "The indigo was partly intersown with cotton, and on some plantations with Bajery, Joary, and other grain. The lines were divided about 16 inches from each other, in which the cotton shrubs stood pretty thick, and the abovementioned grain scattered between, without the least regularity. I understood from the planter that they suffer the indigo to grow for two seasons, and commonly have three crops a year." (p. 46).

After some wandering, Hove reached Cambay. He records: "The crops of the cultivated lands were already gathered in, which consisted chiefly of Bajery. Although the soil in some places is fit for cotton, there is not a single shrub in the whole district. From Catona(?) to half the way to Cambay, the country terminates in uneven ground, is cultivated only in the environs of the village with Joary, Bajery, and a grain that is called ....Moong, Thuer, and Crood, (Urd ?), and these are only cultivated in this district" (p. 48).

He also discusses the commerce and industries of Cambay. He says: Cambay....was formerly famous for different manufactures of cloth.....The cornelian being chiefly exported for Mocca (Mocha), derived its name in England after that city, but they are, properly Guzerat stones..... The polishing being monopolized by the Company's brokers,..... it is their particular interest to conceal the art..... The other article which Cambay exports is indigo,.....but of late the indigo makers adulterate it so much with other ingredients, that no merchant will buy any quantity. Salt and tobacco are the only principal articles that they export to some advantage, especially for the Surat and Bombay market....." (p. 49).

The Ruler of Cambay was rapacious: "..... the houses (are) either deserted, or so pining in decay,..... all (houses were) pulled down by the late Nabob's orders, when the poor inhabitants were not able to discharge their exorbitant taxes, that he had laid on them. Even the large Mosque, which belonged formerly to the community, who were not able to pay the Nabob's demand, was confiscated, and appropriated for the Nabob's storehouse" (p. 50).

Our author then passed over to Limri in Kattiawar. Here he found: "The manufactory of Lymree is nothing else but cloth, which I understand they weave superior to Broach, and supply it with thread which is called Paginy. The cloth is exported for Surat, Mocca (Mocha), India, and the interior parts of the country. Their cotton is chiefly exported by water to Broach and Surat. In return they take printed goods, manufactured silk, timber and salt; but the balance is always to their favour, which they take in ready cash" (p. 78.)

Referring to the people, he adds: "The men are resolute and bony, and both sexes are richly ornamented with gold and silver. The men wore in this season white quilted gowns, and their women printed cloth..... Their ornaments consist of thick gold bracelets, which they wear round their arms, legs and neck. Besides these, they have large

rings, of the same metal, stuck in their ears and nostrils..... The town and the country hereabouts is very populous, and remarkably clean.... I heard daily in every quarter mournful songs, which are performed here by *hired* woman on funeral occasions.... (p. 78–79). Indeed, the last piece of information here is amusing.

After journeying for sometime, Hove reached Mitampoor. He reports: "The inhabitants .. export both cotton and salt, but have no manufactures of any great consequence, except some coarse printings, which they exportt to the Cattyware country. The cotton is brought on Hackerys to the Sabermatty, from where they export it in large Battilahs (sea boats) to Broach, Surat and Deman.... The salt-pans are situated on the N. W. of Mitampoor..... The salt is exported on asses..... and the small species of the horned cattle. Each of these carries in sacks to the amount of 300 weight, and undertake journeys as far as Delhy. The people who attend them are both their guards and keepers; each of them has either a bow, or spear, or a matchlock. The merchant whose property the caravan belongs to, attends its commonly himself, ... accompanies by some horsemen, with spear ... Such caravan has the appearance of a small army, and I am told that they are very courageous in defending their property if attacked by the Cattys (?)" (pp. 84–85).

After travelling in Gujarat, Hove entered Konkan. He says: "... I left the fine fruitful country behind me, and came gradually into a hilly one, where the Czokys (Chokis) of the Maharattas were innumerable, and at every place they examined me minutely" (p. 94). This must have obstructed internal movement of the people and, therefore, the trade. But as he records: "I was desired to shew my pass at every place; but I believe the most of them are illiterate, for I very often presented them with my own Gentoo scribbling, although it had no connexion with a pass, and they returned me it after a pretended persual, that it was a very good Perwanna or pass" (p. 98). This is a clear reflection of the general illiteracy in the Maratha kingdom.

Commenting further he says: This part of the Mahratta country, which is called Concan, is upon the whole rather fertile than barren, and though the soil of the hills is hard and strong. yet it produces the finest teakwood." As for the people, he writes "On all my route I did not meet more than thirteen villages, and the generality of them, especially in the mountains, did not consist of more than twenty families, seemingly pining in poverty, and destitute of every comfort of

life" (p. 101). Comparing his experience of journey in Gujerat with that in Konkan, he says: ".....the Guzerat country, although it abounds with robbers, a person travels in with less trouble, and loses his property but when he is unguarded; but here they practise pillaging as their privilage openly, and compel you to answer their demand according to their pleasure" (pp. 103-04).

Have then returned back to Gujarat and made some more observations on it. About Cambay he wrote: "The Nabob is entitled to the half of every produce, but commonly leaves the poor farmer only the fourth part. The Nabob's part is always taken direct from the field, which the farmer is obliged to bring to the appointed place. On the import of any article to the town, he pays the tenth part, and if he exports it again unsold, he pays likewise the same, so that he has but a poor compensation for his labour......' (p. 114). From here the author went to Synapoor (?). He describes the machine which he saw to separate the cotton from the seeds. He also says: "A great part of this cotton is manufactured here, with which they supply both foreign and the inland markets, which have either not the conveniency or art of weaving. The rest is either exported in thread or in bales in Broach, Ahmedabad, Surat, and Cambay, of which they make their fine cloths. The wool is generally exported from Broach to Bombay, and I am credibly informed sold there for Ahmood cotton" (p. 131).

He refers to the adulteration of cotton also and says: "He (a particular merchant) purchased a large quantity of old cotton seeds, which is sold publicly in the bazar, as food for the cattle; then. opening the bales, he intermixed a certain quantity of it, with some other rubbish, and closed it in the first state in which he delivered the contracted quantity to the respective comanders on the Company's account for China. The Chinese, who opened and examined every bale, found the imposition, that cheated both them and the owners, and left it on the factors' hands; in which state it lies, I believe, to this day." (p. 132) This clearly shows that the adulteration of cotton was practised and that possibly it had adverse effects on the China market.

Our author also visited a weaving room and gives its account in detail:

"That the weaving room was situated under first disk, which are commonly level with the street, wherein neither much light nor air could come, except that by which they breathe, and this opening was perpendicularly constructed. The largeness of the room was with the

extent of the house, and illuminated by lamps, by which they move and spun. The cause of it .... (is) that the thread is better distinguished by the light of fire than that of the day; likewise that the air would break the thread, which requires a constant equal moisture to be woven so fine.

"The looms were extended not above 5 inches from the ground, which were kept moist by means of fluid cowdung, with which they besmear the ground several times a day. The weaver at the head has a seat made, suitable to the loom, in the ground, and move with a silver shuttle. The thread he hád twisted in equal quantity round a short withe, which was kcpt constantly in the horse sperm. The women spun the cotton on wheels, turned by a plain winch by the spinner herself, who moistened her fingers in the same composition" (p. 140).

Dr. Hove then returned back to Broach. He says: "The population is remarkable here: every street swarms with different casts,—Arabs, Moguls, and the many tribes of Gentoos (Hindus)......Their manufacture is cloth of various kinds, as Bafta (a Calico cloth), Daria (Dorea ?), Czarhany (Chandni?). Bafta is the finest of all coming near the muslin of Bengal; Czarhany and Daria are the striped muslin which the ladies wear in England, Duty (Dhoti ?) comes near the Madras cloth, and it is exported to different parts of India to great advantage" (p. 171-72).

He further proceeded to Surat. He found a Hindu veterinary hospital there: "The Gentoo Hospital is an institution for the infirm cattle, and animals of every denomination, wherein they are maintained by a subscription that amounts to about two lacs of rupees. Every genus and species has its separate apartment, wherein it is nursed by proper people, who are purposely hired. Each of these subscribers is at liberty to send one cow or bullock, two monkeys, and a few of the smaller sorts, as dogs, cats, goats, even bugs, to feed them" (pp. 175-76). He also adds: "The city of Surat is advantageously situated on the river Tappy (Tapti), inhabited by different tribes of Gentoos, who are the first and richest merchants, as also a great number of Moguls, Arabs, Parsies, Jews, Armenians, and Portuguese, with which the town swarms in every quarter. Each of these tribes is engaged in some trade or other, both to the inland countries, as likewise to almost the most distant parts of the ocean." Commenting on its trade, he says: "The chief exports from Surat consist of cotton, indigo, Ahmedabad carpets, silks, kinkobs (kinkhabs), Ilachu or satin, and cotton cloth.

In return they take coffee, sugar, staple of various kinds, iron, copper, and ivory for which there is here a great demand. Likewise the Dutch import yearly an immense quantity of various spices, which sell here to great advantage" (p. 178).

After journey for some more time, he eame to Fort Victoria. He notes: "The fort, both below and above is in....a bad situation.... The Company or their servants have taken this place for the port place, Gherya. At present it is not of great use to the settlement of Bombay, for it costs them yearly above a lac of rupees, though the toll of the river and seven large villages belong to it" (p. 193). He further adds: "The Mahrattas export from hence grain of various kinds, which pays a most exorbitant toll to the fort. This is, however, not adequate to the charges that are made here; but the Chiefs retire commonly in a few years from this place with immense sums".... (p. 193).

Hove also visited some nearby places and finished his journey of Western India. He says: "The 1st of February I embarked, and the following day we set for the Cape, where we arrived, after a geat deal of bad weather, on Monday the 27th of April" (p. 197).

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This is the sort of document in question which is available, as pointed out before, in the Servants of India Society's Library, Poona. If consulted, we hope that it will be of great use to the students of the eighteenth century Western Indian socio-economic history.

Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga — A distinguished Public man and Legislator

BY

JAGDISH CHANDRA JHA

It is a pity that some of the leading personalities of India who played a significant role in the early days of the national movement and made a mark in public life have not even been metioned in most of the recent publications on modern India. Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbanga was one such luminary whose role in the Indian national politics of the late nineteenth century needs proper assessment.

Lakshmishwar Singh was born in 1858 when the Indian Revolt of 1857 was still in progress. Perhaps he imbibed some of the revolutionary traits of the turbulent times. But more than that he inherited the independent mind of his father who was a suspect in the eyes of the British in 1857–58. He lost his father when he was only two years old and the Darbhangaraj (in north Bihar) was under a debt of seventy lakhs of rupees.[1]

Fortunately the young Maharaja was well looked after by the Court of Wards (1860-1879): he got a good education at Muzaffarpur, Varanasi and Darbhanga under the guidance of good scholars. From his very childhood the Maharaja showed signs of future greatness.[2] He was trained in riding, shooting, swimming, etc., and even when he had not attained majority he took interest in the affairs of his estate. In 1874-75 he expressed his desire to have his estate properly surveyed for ensuring the welfare of the peasants—a gesture which was appreciated by Governor-General Lytton.[3] The Patna Commissioner and later officiating Lt. Governor of Bengal, S. C. Bayley, naturally described him

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1 Parmeshwar Jha, *Mithila Tatva Vimarsha*, (Maithili), p. 81. The annual income of the estate was rupees sixteen lakhs.

2 Board of Revenue to the Bengal Government, 13 January 1866, *Bengal Revenue A. Proceedings 1880*/49.

3 *Ibid.*

'eminently fit' to succeed to the throne in 1879 because of his "abilities, manners, accomplishments and personal character".[4]

The maharaja had developed an independence of character which was not palatable to the British officialdom. But he was loved by his own people.[5] Moreover, as Buckland says, "As head of the Maithili Brahmans and a Hindu of Hindus the maharaja occupied a very high position in Bihar and Bengal."[6] Even though he could manage his estate for less than two decades he spent more than two crores of rupees on the welfare schems of the public such as famine relief, the construction of roads and iron bridges, maintenance of schools, dispensaries, irrigation works, etc., for preventing famines and for the improvement of agriculture and the cattle and horse breeds.[7] He was also a great patron of Sanskrit scholars, musicians, wrestlers and magicians, irrespective of the caste and community to which they belonged.[8] He opened *dharmashalas* (rest houses) for religious pilgrims at Varanasi and other such places. He also established Sanskrit pathashalas at Darbhanga, Rahika and Kashi.[9] Moreover, he established modern hospitals,[10] built buildings immense stables, botanical and zoological gardens, and libraries, giving evidence of his good taste.[11] Besides spending on charity such as famine relief, medical aid and educational endowments, he contributed liberally to objects of general public utility. He contributed Rs. 50,000 to the Imperial Institute in England.[12] He was "a wide

4 S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, p. 226, fn. Also Ayodhyanath Mishra, ed., *Khandavalakuladipika* (Sanskrit) by Krishna Singh Thakur. p. 78. " Mithila Mahindra Vibhudh Prestha Khilashālatā Vishramah Prāthito Vabhuva Sugunai radhyah Prajavatsalah".

5 *Ibid*, p. 1. Again in p. 81: " Lakshmishwaro Nripavaro Haripattanetu Pranapriyo Vanijanasya mahanishayam." Also see Mukund Jha Buxi, *Mithila Bhashamay Itihas* (Maithili), p. 430.

6 Buckland, *Bengal under Lt. Governors*, II, p. 1069.

7 *Ibid*. p. 1070. Also see Mukund Jha Buxi, *op.cit*. pp. 431 and 440.

8 *Ibid*. p. 435. He was the patron of Harshanath Jha who wrote *Usha Haran* and of Chanda Jha, author of *Maithili Ramayan;* S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, p. 205. The previous rajas of Darbhanga had also been patrons of Oriental learning and scholarship: see William Adam, *Third Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar*, p. 196.

9 P. Jha, *op.cit*., p. 82.

10 Buxi, *op.cit*., p. 432.

11 Buckland, *op.cit*., p. 1070.

12 *Ibid*.

reader and could afford to indulge his taste for new and handsome books".[13]

The Maharaja was not very fortunate in his family life: he married thrice—first in his childhood, then at Rasarh in the Purnea district and lastly at Samaul in his own district, but he remained childless.[14] He did not have cordial relationship with his younger brother either. Even so, the Maharaja took full advantage of the great opportunities he got of distinguishing himself during his comparatively short life.[15] He took a keen interest in the contemporary political questions, sometimes on his own initiative and sometimes on a request of his countrymen. He did his best to secure the welfare of the people. He was so popular among the citizens of Calcutta that they elected him president of committees on several occasions and after his death erected his marble statue at Chowringhee in Calcutta.[16]

In short, the Maharaja was eminently suited to play the historic role in the national life of his country. His genius, foresight, patriotism and statesmanship were praiseworthy. As a result of the wrath of the Government he was given the title of 'Maharaja' only at the time of his formal installation to the throne in 1880. On the Maharaja's protest, however, the Viceroy Lytton restored the full title of 'Maharaja Bahadur'.[17] But again in 1884 he was asked not to use the territorial designation 'Darbhang' in his official papers.[18]

However, in 1883 the Maharaja entered public life with a bang. He first became the president of the Bihar Landholders' Association. Then at an early age of 25 he was nominated to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1883 by the Viceroy. There he made his mark and till his death in 1898 he remined a colossus in the public life of India. In spite of his being the head of the richest landlord family of East India, he was a man of the masses and their well-being was always uppermost in his mind· He was fearless in fighting for the cause of the Indian people.

At a time the legislatures of India had just passed the embryonic stage, a person could be a member of both of the provincial and the

13 *Ibid.*
14 Buxi, *op.cit.*, p. 440.
15 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p. 1069.
16 Sachidanand Sinha, *Some Eminent Bihari Contemporaries*, p. 1
17 *Bengal Political B. Proceedings*, March 1880/97–100.
18 *Bengal Political B. Proceedings*, July 1884/35–36.

supreme legislative councils. Being a hardworking and effective debator the Maharaja had the distinction of sitting as a member of the council of the Lt. Governor of Bengal for four terms beginning in 1880, 1893, 1895 and 1897;[19] and he also represented the Bengal Legislative Council in the Governor-General's Legislative Council from 1883-84, 1893, 1895 and 1897.[20]

In 1893 the Maharaja was elected to the Bengal Legislative Council by the district boards of the Patna division, defeating Syed Sarfuddin who later became a judge of the Calcutta High Court. Since the Lt. Governor of Bengal did not like his election he reminded him through a telegram that his 'health and avocations would preclude'[21] him from working as a legislator. To this the Maharaja replied that "I must work as long as I am able to work''.[22] The non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council elected him to the Supreme Legislative Council thrice and an eminent lawyer of Calcutta, Lal Mohan Ghose, got not even one vote when he opposed him in 1893.[23] Again in 1895 and 1897 he was elected unanimously, even Surendra Nath Banerjee withdrawing in his favour. He played such a significant role in the legislature that he was nominated to several select committees from time to time. Eventually Bengal Government could realise through his speeches on the Bengal Tenancy Bill and the Ilbert Bill the mettle of which the Maharaja was made, and they did not nominate him again. However, in 1893 he returned to the council as the first elected representative of Bengal for he had earned the gratitude of the English educated class in India by asserting the equality of Indians with Europeans in 1884 while moving an amendment to the Ilbert Bill.[24] With his growing association with the national movement he came to represent the most advanced political opinion of his time.

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19 See the *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council* for these years.

20 Vide *Abstract of Proceedings of the Council* for these years.

21 *Bengal Judicial A. Proceedings*, July 1893/81-149.

22 *Ibid.*

23 W. C. Bonnerjee, the first Congress President, wrote to him on his election, " I sincerely congratulate you upon the confidence which has been shown to you by the non-official members of the Bengal Council and the honour which you will confer upon the Supreme Legislative Council by agreeing to become a member of it.": *Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee, Bihar*, 1960-61, pp. 30-31.

24 Abstract of the *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India*, 1884. Also C. H. Philips (ed.), *The Evolution of India & Pakistan*, 1858-1947, *Select Documents*, p. 132.

Even before the birth of the Indian National Congress the Maharaja associated himself with many socio-political associations of India. He was the president of the British Indian Association[25] for several terms with Surendra Nath Banerjea as its secretary. He was present in the joint conference of the British Indian Association of 1884 which was a prelude to the foundation of the Congress. He took a leading part in the movement[26] organised by the Indian Association for raising a National Fund for securing the political advancement of the country. Perhaps he was partly responsible for the foundation of the Indian National Congress and since its very inception he made handsome contributions to his organisation and to its British Committee in London[27] which published a journal also.

As a nationalist legislator the Maharaja excelled his colleagues in many ways. Since he had been greatly interested in the tenant-landlord relations from his early youth he took an active part in the debates on the Bengal Tenancy Bill in 1883-84. He opposed the bill even though he deemed it to be a progressive piece of legislation because he felt that it represented the wishes neither of the landlord nor of the raiyats and therefore it had come before the council "discredited and disowned by the majority of the Select Committee itself."[28]

He denounced the unreliable data about the existing tenures and imagined that a measure based on them would disorganise the whole

25 J. C. Bagal, *The Indian Association*, pp. 5, 58–63, 81–83.

26 K. M. Banerjea to Lakshmishwar Singh, 28 July 1883, Darbhanga Raj Archives in north Bihar.

27 See letters from Kristo Das Pal of the British Indian Association (1880), W. C, Bonnerjee (1893), S. N. Bannerjea and Mahatma Gandhi and other leading men preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Archives. Also C. H. Philips, *The Evolution of India & Pakistan, 1858–1947: Select Documents, Hamilton Papers*, pp. 148–150. On the Maharaja's contributions to the Congress Fund also see B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes*, p. 354. It is amazing, however, that in one of the footnotes on the same page Professor Misra seems to agree with Curzon's view that though helping the Congress party, the Maharaja was 'at heart thoroughly loyal' to the British, Also see B. B. Majumdar, *Indian Political Association*, pp. 205–6 and Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, p. 293 Footnote.

28 *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India assembled for the purpose of making laws and regulations, 1885*, speech of the Maharaja on 27 February 1885.

rural economy of the country.[29] He wondered if the magistrates were expected to know more than the local zamindars about the grievances of the raiyats.[30]

He spoke with great vehemence on the Ilbert Bill which aimed at amending the Criminal Procedure Code. He said the original bill aimed at doing away with race distinctions, but in its amended form it was to give to every European the right of trial by jury in almost every case. Therefore he moved another amendment to the effect that this right might be extended to the Indians also in certain cases. A proposal to effect perfect equality between the Indians and Europeans, he said, would never be listened to: "If the Indians are a conquered race and the Europeans are conquerors, it is preposterous to think that the conquered race and the conquerors can ever legally be put on terms of equality."[31] But a semblance of equality was essential. Unfortunately, even though the Governor-Generrl realised "the great importan ce" of his point which deserved "very full and careful consideration" and Amir Ali and Kristodas Pal supported the Maharaja, the proposed amendment had to be withdrawn.

The Maharaja spoke with equal force not only on political matters but also on the burning social and economic problems of the day. Even though he was a scion of an orthodox Hindu aristocratic family he wanted to eradicate some irksome social evils through legislation. He therefore supported the Age of Consent Bill in 1891. The *Garbhadhana* ceremony immediately after pubert y in many Hindu families, he said, retarded the growth of a virile nation because girls became mothers at an early age. The Viceroy Lansdowne naturally appreciated the "outspoken utterances" of the Maharaja on this issue.[32] Again in 1895 he championed the cause of a husband or wife suffering on account of the change of religion or of contracting an infectious disease or a very cruel treatment by the other partner.[33]

In 1894 the Maharaja delivered a fiery speech in the Governor-General's Council on the tariff bill. "The imposition on the taxpayers

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29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Proceedings of the Council of G. G.*

32 C. H. Philips, *op. cit.*, p. 738. Of course, as the Maharaja observed, this ceremony wishing the fertilisation of woman was not observed in many respectable Hindu families.

33 *Imperial Council Proceedings*, Vol. XXXIV, 1895, p. 197.

of India of a vast system of import duties, with the sole exemption of cotton goods", he said, "seems to me very much to resemble a performance of the play of Hamlet for which the part of Hamlet himself is altogether omitted."[34] In the Horschell Committee and elsewhere the import duty on cotton goods was the main item of taxation, and yet it was left out so that the vested interest in Great Britain might be safeguarded. He made it clear that in times of financial difficulty and embarrassment it was preposterous to impose duties for the sake of protection; it was clear that these duties were imposed 'for revenue purposes only.'[35] If at all it was a protective measure it aimed at protecting the mills of England against our own mills."[36] The indigenous manufacture of coloured cotton goods had hitherto been competing successfully with English goods, but now the dyes were also going to be taxed and yet the coloured cotton goods would be imported free of all duty. He deplored this omission of the import duty on cotton goods for it protected the industry of others and injured the indigenous industries. He thus took up the cause of *Swadeshi* in his own way a decade before the beginning of the *Swadeshi* movement. He objected to other duties as well: five percent on the import of iron, copper, brass and other metals used for utensils, tools, etc., by the labouring masses of India.[37] This, he imagined, would tell heavily upon the indigenous metal industry. He also resented the proposed tax on the import of petroleum.

Indeed, the Maharaja's speeches in the legislature were invariably an able exposition of the national point of view. He exposed the British game of protecting the goods of Manchester and Lancashire in the Indian market against the indigenous products: "It is quite impossible for any Government that values the good opinion of the civilized world, and that desires to consult the interests of its own subjects, to persist in carrying it through."[38]

In 1895 the Maharaja was elected to the select committee on the bill to amend certain sections of the Civil Procedure Code as well as Act V of 1861 (Police) and to repeal certain sections of the Punjab Laws

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34 *Abstract of Proceedings of the Council of G. G. of India, 1894*, p. 159.

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*

Aot, 1872. There as well as in the Imperial Council he opposed the proposed amendment on the ground that it was not a preventive measure. He emphasised the fact that even though he had been a member of the select committee he had to oppose the measure as he was an unofficial member who could not take such things lying down.[39] He quoted extensively from the views of several experienced administrators to prove that far from preventing communal riot and allaying the excited feelings the Government through this measure would "find itself, willy nilly, in the position of a fomentor of religious discord."[40]

He further said: 'The apportionment of the cost on a particular section, be they Hindus or be they Mohammadans, I care not which, can only result in renewed embitterment between the two factions. The feud will be perpetuated and a most unfortunate impression will be created that the head of the district is in sympathy with one faction to the exclusion and detriment of the other."[41] The Maharaja was deadly opposed to the granting of more powers to the magistracy and had reason to suspect that the British Indian administration very often fomented communal riots.

The effective speech of the Maharaja on this bill as well as on several other matters of current interest like the Epidemic Disease Bill of 1897[42] which was an evidence of the Government's anxiety for public health, his speeches on the Financial Statement Bill of 1897, and the proposed Amendment of Indian Penal Code of 1898, were marked by a plethora of facts and figures as well as logical arguments enlivened by wit and sarcasm. The Maharaja attacked the Government on the floor of the Supreme Council for spending the revenue realised from India on expeditions outside India to serve the cause of *Pax Britannica*, for example, on the Abyssinian and Egyptian compaigns as also on entertaining dignitaries like the Sultan of Turkey and the Afghan prince.

The Maharaja opposed the proposed insertion of a stringent sedition clause (section 124 A) in the Indian Penal Code which would render the law relating to sedition so comprehensive as to bring intemperate

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39 *Imperial Council Proceedings*, Vol. XXXIV, 1895, pp. 88 and 197.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

42 *Imperial Council Proceedings*, 1897, Vol. XXXVI.

criticism of Government measures within the purview of this crime. He very well pointed out that the vesting of the magistrates of big towns to punish persons charged with sedition on this ground would put undue restraints on the press and stifle all public criticism of Government measures. He warned the British Indian Government that it would have no satisfactory means of knowing the real public feeling.[43] This was the last year of his precious public life and yet he showed the same vigour and fearlessness, proposing that in lines 4 and 5 of the new Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code as proposed to be substituted by clause 4 of the Bill as amended by the Select Committee, before the words "brings are attempts to bring into hatred" the word "intentionally" be inserted.[44] He wondered if it was "the wish of the Government to stop all kinds of criticism."[45] He quoted extensively from English criminal law to prove that what was necessary for punishing a writer or speaker for sedition was to show that his intention was criminal and seditious. But here in India after the new measure was passed, even an expression of unfriendly feeling against the Government would land a person in jail for life, making "it almost impossible for a journalist or a public speaker, or even public bodies, and perhaps Members of Councils, to criticise the policy and measures of Government with honesty and independence" especially when the Act of 1892 gave the legislators more powers of criticism.

In his last speech read on his behalf because of his serious illness, the Maharaja opposed the proposed amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code, reiterating that the discretionary powers of the magistrates should be limited, and that the trial by jury should be extended. It seemed strange to him that the offence of sedition should come in any way within the purview of any court other than a court of sessions or a High Court.[46] Indicating the difference between conditions prevailing in India and England he thought that the incidence of crime in India was much less than in that country[47] and therefore a

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43 Vide, *Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council*, Vol. XXXVII, 1898.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 116.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Ibid.*

more lenient view should be adopted here. He reminded the Government that in 1884 the Governor-General had assured him in the legislature that the extension of the privilege for trial by jury to the Indians might be conceded in due course.[48] Since 15 years had already passed he urged upon the Government not to delay it further.

Thus this pre-eminent supporter of the Congress worked ceaselessly for the national cause in and outside the Indian legislature. He was a symbol of liberalism and nationalism occupying "the foremost place in the public life"[49] of India for more than a decade.

48 *Ibid.*
49 S. N. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

The First Protestant Mission in Travancore

BY

P. G. EDWIN

Travancore was the first and foremost among the Princely States of India to receive the Gospel. The outstanding work done by Christian missionaries in the field of education and social service has been widely recognised. The missionaries were men of strong character and convictions and in whatever field they laboured, they brought to bear on their work a spirit of dedication and ardent zeal. Hospitals, schools, colleges and charity homes founded by them in the different parts of the State stand out as the monuments of their unstinted labours.

As Christians their primary object was to carry the message of Christ to the remote corners of the earth. Jesus said unto his disciples: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature"[1]. According to tradition St. Thomas, the Apostle, came to India in the first century A.D. and converted a number of local families to the Christian religion.[2] While there is no positive evidence to prove this, one cannot deny that towards the close of the second century the Gospel had reached the people of the southern Indian coast.[3] Dr. Buchanan who visited Malabar in 1801 found flourishing Christian communities of the Syrian Church in the different parts of Travancore who could trace their origins to the St. Thomas Christians of the first century. And long before the British established their power in Travancore, the inhabitants of the coastal regions were converted to the Catholic faith by St. Francis Xavier who worked assiduously for many years among these poor people with Kōṭṭār (part of Nagercoil town) as his headquarters.[4] The Syrian Christians who claimed their origin from

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1 *St. Mark*, Chapter 16, Verse 15.

2 K. M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala*. (The Annamalai University, 1960) p. 4.

3 John William Kaye; *Christianity in India*. (London, 1859) pp. 4, 5. Pantaenus, head of the Alexandrian school visited India in the second century and found there a flourishing Christian community.

4 Fr. C. K. Mattom, " The services of St. Francis Xavier to the Travancore State." *Journal of Indian History*, April 1953. pp. 75–79.

the days of St. Thomas and Latin Christians who owed their conversion to the missionary labours of St. Francis Xavier constituted a sizable Christain population in Travancore. Unlike the Portuguese, the British administrators in India adopted a very cautious policy in the matter of religious conversion. The Court of Directors of the English East India Company viewed with disfavour any attempt on the part of the Christian missionaries in India to convert people to their faith. For many years it was the accepted policy of the Court of Directors as well as the British Government not to allow missionaries from England to go over to India to propagate Christianity among the local people. Trade was paramount to them and their policy in India was dictated mainly by economic considerations. They refrained from doing anything that was likely to offend the religious sentiments of the Hindus and the Muslims. Moreover the early English settlers in India were men of intemperate habits and doubtful morality. They had no scruples and showed little regard for religion. Edward Terry,[5] one of the first Englilsh clergymen to visit India, observed that the local inhabitants used to speak very low of these English settlers. In broken English they would say: "Christain religion, devil religion; Christian much drunk; Christian much do wrong; much beat, much abuse other's".[6]

The evangelical movement in the last quarter of the 18th century produced a wave of enthusiasm in England which few people could resist. Under its spell even laymen began to feel that England as a leading Christian nation had a special responsibility in the diffusion of Christian knowledge throughout the world. In the British Parliament Wilberforce, that indefatigable fighter for noble causes, raised his voice in favour of India's evangelisation through missionary efforts. In 1793 at the time of the renewal of the Company's Charter, he made a heroic but unsuccessful attempt to include a favourable clause in the Charter Act of that year that would facilitate the work of Christian missions in India. However, the attempt to incorporate it in the Act of 1793 failed largely due to the organised opposition of influential groups led by powerful men like Henry Dundas. And as a result Christian missions

5 Edward Terry was chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe who arrived in India in 1615 as ambassador from King James I of England to Jahangir, the Mughal emperor. In his travel account Terry gives a vivid description of the customs and manners of the people with whom he came into contact during his stay in India.

6 John William Kaye, *op.cit.* pp. 41, 42.

were excluded from British India for another two decades.[7] It was only in 1813 that Wilberforce and his friends succeeded in securing freedom of movement for missionaries in British India through parliamentary legislation.[8] But long before the passing of the Charter Act of 1813 Christian missionaries had managed to enter British India and work among the local people in spite of the restrictions imposed on them by the authorities.

The history of Protestant missions in Travancore begins with the arrival of William Tobias Ringeltaube on 25 April 1806 at Mylaudy, a village in South Travancore. A Prussian by birth and a Lutheran by denomination, he was ordained in 1796 and sent as a missionary to Calcutta by the Society for promoting Christian knowledge.[9] Within a year he abandoned the Mission and returned to Europe.[10] He complained that his allowance was inadequate and that he had to preach in Portuguese to a mixed congregation of Portuguese, Malays, Jews and Chinese.[11] Subsequently he joined the London Missionary Society[12] and was sent out again for missionary work in India.

Since missionary activities were strictly prohibited in British India Ringeltaube travelled in a Danish ship and landed in Tranquebar, the cradle of Protestantism in India.[13] It is true that the Dutch and English traders were the first Protestants to reach India. But trade was their main preoccupation and they took little interest in the propagation of their faith among the local people. Hence it was Denmark that took the lead in promoting evangelisation in India. Bartholomeow Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschan were the first Protestant missionaries who came to India. Both were Danes and they landed in Tranquebar on

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7 Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India.* (London, 1908) p. 150.

8 The Charter Act of 1813 permitted missionaries to work among the people of India.

9 Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society.* Vol. II (London, 1899) p. 21.

10 R. Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission* (Madras, 1881) p. 123.

11 Richard Lovett, *op. cit.* p. 22.

12 Caldwell, *op. cit.* p. 123.

13 I. H. Hacker, *A Hundred years in Travancore* (London, 1908) p. 20.

9th July 1706.[14] It was only towards the close of the 18th century that England sent her missionaries to India.

At Tranquebar Ringeltaube applied himself to the study of Tamil under the guidance of Kohlhoff.[15] His progress in the language was so remarkable that within a short period he was able to compose an English-Tamil Dictionary.[16] His two companions G. Cran and Augustus Des Granges preferred to work in Andhradesa and hence took to the study of Telugu. Ringeltaube on the other hand was drawn to the Southern country and chose the Tinnevelly District and later South Travancore as his field. His friends advised him to settle down in Madras and start work there.[17] But he was determined to move to the south and work in villages. He wrote to the Treasurer of the London Missionary Society: "As soon as I am sufficiently advanced in the language, I mean to proceed to the southward, if the Lord please, knowing of what importance for our Society it is, that we should meet with a speedy success; and there, behold the fields are white for the harvest."[18] During a short visit to Madras he cultivated the friendship of Dr. Kerr who had been to Travancore on a deputation relating to the affairs of the Syrian Church there.[19] He must have obtained from his friend useful and interesting information about Travancore and its people. Dr. Kerr supplied him with books for school children and other necessary articles for his mission.[20]

William Carey of the Baptist Missionary Society, the father of English Missions in India, had already established himself in the Danish colony of Serampore, three miles north of Calcutta.[21] He was a tower of strength to other Protestant missionaries especially those who were assailed by doubts and misapprehensions. He wrote encouraging

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14 E. Daniel Potts: *British Baptist Missionaries in India* (Oxford University Press, 1967) p. 4.

15 *Ibid.*

16 James Hough: *The Htstory of Christianity in India* Vol. IV. (London 1845) p. 278.

17 C. M. Augur: *Church History of Travancore* (Madras 1903) p. 466.

18 Letter dated 29 Jan. 1805. See, Caldwell, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

19 Augur, *op. cit.* p. 467.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Modern missionary work in India dates from November 11, 1973, the day on which William Carey landed in Calcutta.

letters to Ringeltaube and the other missionaries at Tranquebar. In a letter dated 5 April 1805 sent from Calcutta to his fellow missionaries in South India, Carey wrote: "You will meet with many discouragements—from want of success, from the conversation of Europeans who will tell you that nothing can ever be done in the conversion of the heathens, who will deprecate what has been already done, and point out the evil conduct of a few hypocrites as a proof that all who call themselves Christians are such...... But my dear Brethren, we must not give up the contest."[22]

Ever since his arrival at Tranquebar Ringeltaube was lured by the prospects of missionary work in the extreme south of the peninsula. In a letter dated 5 August 1805, he wrote to the Treasurer of the London Missionary Society: "I intend, God willing, to go to the south or to Anjengo, before the rainy season sets in. The missions cannot be so well carried on in great towns where Europeans reside, as they sometimes counteract the pious labours of the missionary".[23] This letter is of special importance to us as it contains a specific reference to the visit of a man from Travancore, his request to Ringeltaube to go over to South Travancore and work among the people there and the missionary's reactions to this invitation. The letter says: "But lately a man from Travancore came to me to beg I would come down and help them. There are eight hundred people there that wish to be baptized. It struck me as a call from God, in answer to my incessant prayers to direct me; in short in His name I will try. All our friends wish the same."[24]

That man from Travancore was one Maharāśan alias Vēdamāṇikkam a Christian convert who hailed from the village of Mylaudy near Cape Comorin. His family had migrated from Tanjore to Nanjinadu in South Travancore where they settled down at Mylaudy.[25] At the instance of John Casper Kohlhoff, he embraced Christianity under the name of Vēdamāṇikkam.[26] He and his nephew Māsillāmoṇi returned to their native village in South Travancore and preached Christianity to his relations and neighbours.[27] A few of them adopted the new faith

22 Augur, *op. cit.* f. n. to p. 468.
23 Caldwell, *op. cit.* pp. 124, 125.
24 *Ibid.* p. 125.
25 *Ibid.*
26 Hacker, *op. cit.* p. 21.
27 *Ibid.*

while others in the village started persecuting the converts. The persecution at times became so unbearable that Vēdamāṇikkam and his Christian followers even planned to move either to Tanjore or to Tranquebar where they could enjoy freedom of worship.[28] However the idea was soon abandoned and Vēdamāṇikkam set out for Tanjore to meet the missionaries there and seek their advice as to what he should do.[29] At Tanjore Kohlhoff told him: "It is well that you have not sold your lands. God has had mercy upon you. A missionary named Ringeltaube has arrived from Europe and is now learning Tamil. It has been proposed that he should proceed to your village of Mylaudy. As soon as he has learnt Tamil he will set out".[30] On hearing this joyful news, Vēdamāṇikkam proceeded to Tranquebar where he met Ringeltaube. He was well received by the missionary who told him that he would come to Travancore as soon as he learned Tamil.[31] And thus began "a friendship which was never broken till death divided them".[32]

While he was contemplating on his proposed mission to Travancore, news reached Ringeltaube about the outrages committed on the Christian converts of Tirunelvelly by the Hindus and Muslims of that area who became uneasy over the progress of Christianity there. A gentleman named Gratian of Manapar in the Tinnevelly district wrote, to a friend at Trenquebar: ".......how desirable a thing it would be if the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube were to come hither as soon as possible. Then tranquillity would be restored and future molestation prevented. I request you to communicate this letter to him with my compliments".[33] The letter made a deep impression on Ringeltaube's mind and he was greatly moved by the sufferings of the Tirunevelly Christians. He resolved to go to Palamcottah[34] and work among the poor Christians

28 Caldwell, *op. cit*, p. 129.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Quoted in Caldwell, *op. cit.* p. 130.

31 *Ibit.*

32 Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

33 Letter dated 8 June 1805 recorded in Ringeltaube's Journal of 4 Oct. 1805. See Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32.

34 Part of the city of Tinnevelly, one of the earliest centres of missionary activity in South India. From 1806 to 1810 Ringeltaube carried on active evangelistic work in Tinnevelly with Palamcottah as his centre paying occasional visits to Travancore. Palamcottah is now the head-quarters of the Tinnevelly Diocese of the Church of South India.

there. Though he was attached to the London Missionary Society, he took charge of the Tinnevelly Mission which belonged to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[35] A man of very independent nature, he refused to submit himself to the jurisdiction of any particular Christian denomination and offered to serve anywhere he thought he could make himself useful. Under special arrangement with S. P. C. K. he assumed temporary charge of the Tinnevelly Mission in Kohlhoff's name and continued his efforts to found a mission in South Travancore under the auspices of the L. M. S.[36]

As head of the S. P. C. K. Mission at Palamcottah Ringeltaube laboured for six months in the Tinnevelly district travelling from congregation to congregation and preaching extempore in imperfect Tamil.[37] But his thoughts were always with that small band of Christians under Vēdamāṇikkam struggling for their survival at Mylaudy and he was exploring the possibilities of opening a mission in South Travancore. Missionaries in those days were generally unwilling to take up work in Travancore even though there was ample scope for real Christian work there.[38] The sufferings of the small community of Christians at Mylaudy already referred to evoke the sympathy of Kohlhoff of the Tanjore Mission. C. M. Augur, an authority on the history of the Protestant Church in Travancore, thinks that Kohlhoff must have moved Mr. Blackburne, the British Resident in Tanjore to induce Col. Macaulay to take up the cause of the Mylaudy Christians. Macaulay did interfere on behalf of the persecuted Christians and issued instructions in Agust 1803 to Pedro De Veigas who acted as Sirkar agent so that " the vexatious impediments practised at Cania Comary Gate on Christians passing backwards and forwards might be removed".[39]

Travancore was a princely state and hence was not under direct British rule. Ringeltaube was quite aware of the practical difficulties involved in obtaining permission from the Hindu ruler of the state for his work in Travancore. However he was not deterred by the obstacles. He wrote to Col. Macaulay asking him to obtain for him the permission of the Travancore Government for building a church at Mylaudy and also to issue the Resident's passport authorising him to travel through

35 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 486.
36 Caldwell, *op. cit.* p. 137.
37 *Ibid.* p. 138.
38 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 470.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 481.

the state.[40] Col. Macaulay not only issued the passport but even offered to meet the expenses of his journey.[41]

Having obtained the necessary sanction from the authorities, Ringeltaube set out on the 13th April, 1806, with a small group of followers for Travancore.[42] On the 25th April 1806 he passed through the Aramboly Pass and entered Travancore, the first Protestant missionary ever to set foot on this land. As he entered the Ghauts-section, he was simply enchanted by its scenic beauty.[43] As they crossed the border and entered the state Ringeltaube's companions were seized with fear for they were now in a Hindu kingdom where the Brahmins, then the sworn enemies of Christianity, held sway.[44] An incident that happened then proved that their misapprehensions were not without foundation. Overpowered by the weariness of a long journey, Ringeltaube entered a rest house to relax for a while. The local magistrate sent word to him that the rest house was meant exclusively for the use of Brahimis[45] and ordered him to vacate it immediately. Ringeltaube reluctantly obeyed, resumed his journey and reached the village of Mylaudy, his destination. During his stay at Mylaudy, the local Christians represented their grievances to him. Ringeltaube spent a couple of days with the local Christians staying in their hovels, sharing their scanty meals and preaching and praying in their midst. During his stay at Mylaudy Ringeltaube sent word through a catechist to the local magistrate that he should desist from persecuting the Christians and received a favourable reply from that official.[46]

Perceiving that Macaulay's help was indispensable for his missionary work in Travancore, Ringeltaube set out for Cochin to meet the British Resident there. He travelled through Trivandrum, Anjengo and Alleppey and reached Cochin on 8 May 1806.[47] He met Macaulay at the Residency in Bolghautty and sought his help in securing permission

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40 *Ibid.*, p. 495.

41 *Ibid.*

42 Ringeltaube's letter to the Society in London dated 11 Sep. 1806. See Caldwell, *op. cit.* p. 152.

43 Caldwell, *op. cit.* p. 153.

44 *Ibid.*

45 *Ibid.*

46 S. A. Azariah, *Ringeltaube—the Apostle of South Travancore* (Tamil) Nagercoil, 1939 p. 48.

47 *Ibid.* pp. 48-49.

from the state government to build a church at Mylaudy.[48] Macaulay promised that he would intercede on his behalf with the Maharaja of Travancore and get the permission requested for at an early date and even offered to meet the cost of construction.[49] The Resident would have preferred Ringeltaube settling down in Cochin and ministering to the needs of the European community there but the latter had already chosen South Travancore as the field of his labours where he could take care of the infant flock at Mylaudy.[50]

On his return journey Ringeltaube halted at Quilon and had a meeting with Vēlu Tampi, the Dewan of Travancore. The interview was arranged by Dr. Kenneth Macaulay, the nephew of Col. Macaulay.[51] "Of what religion are you?" asked the Dewan. "Colonel Macaulay's religion" was Ringeltaube's answer. "I never knew there was such a religion" retorted the Dewan.[52] Ringeltaube then explained to Vēlu Tampi the tenets of Christianity and sought permission to build a church at Mylaudy. The Dewan regretted his inability to accede to his request as he thought it would be an innovation on established customs.[53] But Ringeltaube counted on the promise already made by the Resident. A few days later he received a letter from Col. Macaulay stating that he had invited the Dewan to Cochin and then he would settle the matter with him about the erection of the church at Mylaudy.[54]

In August 1806 Dewan Vēlu Tampi sent word to Ringeltaube asking him to depute one of his men to Quilon so that, on proper enquires being made relating to the proposed mission at Mylaudy, permission could be granted to the missionary to erect a church there.[55] Ringeltaube deputed his trusted lieutenant Vēdamaṇikkam to go to Quilon with a letter for Dr. Kenneth Macaulay who was always willing to render all possible help in the matter. Since the Dewan was then at Alleppey, Vēdamāṇikkam could meet him only there. On reaching Alleppey he was first told that permission could not be granted for the Mylaudy church as it would incite the local people to rise against the missionary

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49.
49 *Ibid.*
50 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 502.
51 *Ibid.*, p. 503.
52 Samuel Mateer, *The Land of Charity* (London, 1871) p. 262.
53 Augur, *op. cit.*, pp. 503.
54 *Ibid.*, pp. 503, 504.
55 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 511.

and his band of Christians.[56] However the resourceful Dewan knew well that he should not antagonise the British Resident on this score and told Vētamāṇikkam that the Maharaja would go to the South in December that year for the Śucīndram festival and then sanction for the church would be granted.[57] Vēdamāṇikkam returned to Palamcottah and reported to Ringeltaube the failure of his mission. The missionary sent another letter to the Resident imploring him to intervene again and obtain the necessary sanction.[58]

About this time the Government of India deputed the celebrated Dr. Buchanan, one of their distinguished chaplains, to visit the ancient Syrian churches of Malabar and submit a report on the state of Christianity in that region. Buchanan reached and stayed at Trivandrum in October 1806 as the Maharaja's guest.[58] He also pleaded Ringeltaube's cause at the court and obtained a favourable reply. The Maharaja told him that he would go to Śucīndram in a few days and then he himself would choose a suitable site at Mylaudy and grant the necessary permission for the erection of a church there.[59]

Meanwhile Ringeltaube asked Vēdamāṇikkam to build a chapel near the latter's residence to be used as a temporary prayer house pending sanction for the erection of a permanent church. Having made this arrangement, Ringeltaube moved to a village in British territory close to Añjugrāmam on the Travancore border. There he set up a music school where he taught the local children English songs.[60] He made little progress in his work because the children were unable to sing English tunes. During this time the Brahmins of the neighbouring village of Karuṇguḷam made as assault on Ringeltaube. The trouble originated in a dispute over a piece of waste land between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The latter turned to the missionary for protection and the exasperated Brahmins chastised him in every possible manner.

Soon Ringeltaube was obliged to leave the service of the S. P. C. K., as the Parent committee of that Society viewed with disfavour Kohlhoff's arrangement. By that arrangement Ringeltaube had to work for the

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56 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 512.

57 *Ibid.*

58 Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia.* (Cambridge, 1811) p. 92.

59 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

60 Ringeltaube's Journal dated 1 Oct. 1806. See, *Caldwell*, *op.cit*, p. 161.

S. P. C. K. in the Tinnevelly area but elsewhere he was free to raise congregations under the banner of the London Missionary Society. Having severed his connection with the S. P. C. K. Ringeltaube returned to South Travancore to concentrate on the Mylaudy project. For a time he stayed at Mylaudy and then shifted his residence to Udayagiri where he lived till the construction of a church and his residence at Mylaudy.[61] He continued to labour in Nāñcināḍu, the southern division of Travancore, paying occasional visits to Palamcottah and other places in the Tinnevelly area till his final departure from India in 1816.[62]

Ringeltaube's missionary labours in South Travancore were seriously interrupted by Vēlu Tampi's Revolt against British Rule in 1808–9. Among other things, the proselytising activities of Christian missionaries, annoyed the Dewan of Travancore who, in an important letter addressed to the Zamorin of Calicut, declared that he had "great apprehensions of the extension of the Christian faith in Travancore"[63] The Christians in and around Mylaudy, fearing persecution, fled to the adjoining hills and remained there in hiding until normalcy was restored. In those days of anxiety Vēdamāṇikkam used to pray that Travancore should come under the direct rule of the East India Company.[64] Ringeltaube told him that the people of Travancore were entitled to certain privileges which were not enjoyed even by the inhabitants of the British Indian provinces and hence advised him to pray for the conversion of the Maharajah himself.[65] During the war the Christian converts wavered in their faith and most of them deserted Ringeltaube and the missionary himself fled to Palamcottah.[66]

The revolt was suppressed and peace was restored early in 1809 Ringeltaube returned to Mylaudy and resumed his efforts to have the church established there. He proceeded to Quilion where he met Macaulay and renewed his request for permission to build the church. Now that the Resident was all-powerful, there was no difficulty in obtaining the long-awaited permission. The site was fixed and local

61 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

62 Ringeltaube's Journal dated 23 Aug. 1807. See Caldwell, *op. cit.* p. 166.

63 Edward Thornton, *The History of the British Empire in India* (London, 1843) Vol. IV pp. 124, 125.

64 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

65 *Ibid.*

66 *Ibid.*, pp. 549, 550.

officials were instructed to render all possible help in the construction of the church. Commenting on the crucial role played by Macaulay in this matter, Ringeltaube observed: "For this important service our Society is indebted to Colonel Macaulay alone without whose determined and fearless interposition none of their missionaries would have been able to set foot in that country."[67]

In May 1809 foundation was laid for the church; the construction was over in four months, and the church was dedicated in September that year.[68] The Mylaudy church was the first Protestant church built in Travancore.[69] To mark the important occasion, Ringeltaube formally made Vēdamāṇikkam a catechist, and a paid agent of the mission.

Next year Ringeltaube obtained permission from the Travancore Government to build churches in six other places in the South, viz., Tāmarakkuḷam, Puttalam, Īttāmoḻy, Attaikāḍu, Piccaikkuḍiyiruppu and Kōvilviḷai.[70] These churches were only small chapels but they soon became the centres from which the Protestant religion was disseminated to the surrounding regions. The Church Register for 1810 written by Ringeltaube himself shows that as on that date only 422 persons were converted to the Protestant faith.[71] This was quite an unimpressive performance compared to the mass conversions effected by St. Francis Xavier during his prosletysing mission in the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. There were convincing reasons for the slow progress of his work. Unlike Francis Xavier, Ringeltaube encountered determined opposition from the state Government and but for the interposition of the British Resident, he would never have succeeded in founding the Protestant Mission in Travancore. More important still was that Ringeltaube never believed in large-scale conversions for he feared that if reasonable restrictions were not made many undesirable elements would get into the fold and ultimately weaken the church instead of strengthening it. He baptized only those who geniunely repented and believed in Jesus Christ but even among such cases there were many desertions.

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67 Ringeltaube's Journal dated 19 June 1806. See Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

68 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 553.

70 These churches were within a few miles of Mylaudy which was the head-quarters of the Protestant Mission.

71 For details see, Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

John Munro who succeeded Macaulay as British Resident in Travancore in 1810 was a zealous Christian and rendered substantial help to the Protestant Mission in Travancore. He made enquiries into the condition of the churches in Travancore under the various Christian denominations and sent a Questionnaire to Ringeltaube in which he had raised thirteen queries.[72] In his report submitted to the Resident, Ringeltaube wrote, among other things, that he was maintaining six schools and that he would very much like to have a printing press and complained that lack of finance was the greatest impediment to the progress of his work. Commenting on the attitude of the Christian converts towards the British Government, Ringeltaube observed in his Report that the Protestant Christians were the only faithful friends of the British Government as they knew that their future largely depended on the consolidation of British authority in the state.[73]

Due to constant exertions, Ringeltaube's health declined and he told Vēdamāṉikkam of his intention to leave the country soon. The Mylaudy mission was just founded. And its future no one could predict at that time. The real problem was how to raise funds to support the Mission and unless some sort of endowment was instituted to meet the cost of maintaining the churches, it would be impossible for the local Christian leaders to carry on the work after Ringeltaube's departure. Vēdamāṉikkam suggested that they should move the Government of Travancore for a free gift of lands. Colonel Munro, by that time, had assumed the office of Dewan in addition to that of British Resident and this combination of powers made him virtually the ruler of the state.[74] And he was a genuine friend of the Church and was always

72 The Questionaire shows the great interest evinced by Resident Munro in the subject under review and Ringeltaube's answers provide vital information regarding the nature of the work done in South Travancore, the difficulties encountered and the scheme contemplated for future expansion. Augur gives a complete account of the questions raised by the Resident in his Questionnaire and the answers furnished by Ringeltaube. See Augur, *op. cit.*, pp. 589–599.

73 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

74 Colonel Munro was the British Resident for the States of Travancore and Cochin from 1810 to 1819. For a time (1811–1815) he was also the Dewan of Travancore and as Resident-Dewan he reorganised the entire administrative system of the State on modern lines. The assumption of Dewanship by the Resident was a rather unique experiment in the administration of the State and it was strongly disapproved of by the Court of Directors. Munro's

willing to render it all possible help. While Ringeltaube was hesitating over the propriety of making a request for an endowment Vēdamāṇikkam said: " Strike the iron while it is hot and if we miss this opportunity when the Resident is favourably disposed towards Christian missions, we would not get another time to accomplish our object."[75] His initial reluctance being overcome, Ringeltaube made a formal application in June 1813 to the Ranee of Travancore for an endowment in the form of a free gift of paddy fields.[76] The request was readily granted, thanks to the Resident's intervention on behalf of the Mission, and Ringeltaube was asked to find out suitable lands for the purpose. Ringeltaube referred the matter to Capt. Aurthur, Executive Engineer of the subsidiary force at Quilon asking him to furnish information about government lands available in the Quilon district. But Vēdamāṇikkam insisted that the fields should be situated in the south not far away from the mission's headquarters. Ringeltaube agreed to this and deputed Vēdamāṇikkam and Māsillāmoṇi, the catechist of the Īṭṭāmoḻi church to find out suitable lands for the gift. They pointed out the extensive paddy fields of the Sirkar at Tāmarakkuḷam and Vayilākkuḷam that would yield an annual income of 300 pagodas, quite sufficient to support Ringeltaube's churches in future.[77] The Ranee offered these lands as a gift to the Protestant Mission on condition that 247 Kottahs of paddy and 257 fanams should be paid as tax to the Government.[78] Ringeltaube found that the net proceeds from these fields after deducting the tax and the expenses of cultivation would be insufficient to meet the requirements of the Mission and hence suggested that the lands given as gift should be exempted from all taxes. Finally he offered to pay 100 Kottahs of paddy to the Sircar as tax and wrote to the Government that he would accept the offer on that condition. The Government agreed to this proposal and Ringeltaube sent one Gñānamuttu to wait on the Ranee at Trivandrum and receive the royal grant on behalf of the Mylaudy mission. The royal writ issued for the purpose conferred the grant on Ringeltaube, the

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regime was highly beneficial io the Christian Missions who received massive aid from the State in the form of money and land grants.

75 Quoted in Augur, *op. cit.*, pp. 600, 601.

76 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 602.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 603.

78 John A. Jacob, *History of the London Missionary Society in South Travancore* (Tamil) Nagercoil 1956, p. 32.

Protestant missionary in Travancore and his successors.[79] Rev. Mead, who succeeded Ringeltaube, managed to get the tax of hundred Kottahs reduced to a nominal tax of one Kottah.[80] Later on the entire income from these lands was exclusively appropriated for the seminary at Nagercoil.[81]

In 1813 there occurred a severe famine in South Travancore and by September that year the drought was complete. Ringeltaube organised relief work to mitigate the sufferings of the poorer sections of the community. He raised money through voluntary contributions and distributed it among the people in the famine-stricken areas. He never encouraged idleness in his followers and made them work on a well and a garden in the vicinity of the Mylaudy church and the money distributed among them was in the form of wages paid for the work done.

As his health deteriorated, Ringeltaube grew more and more anxious about the future of the Mylaudy mission. He contacted a few of his fellow missionaries in South India with a view to getting the services of any one of them for South Travancore. When everyone regretted his inability to comply with his request Ringeltaube decided to put the senior catechist Vēdamānikkam in charge of the Mission.[82] He himself ordained Vēdamāṇikkam and issued to him a certificate[83] of ordination and a licence to preach and administer sacraments and manage the Mission till the appointment of a European missionary. Vēdamāṇikkam was authorised, by virtue of this certificate, to manage the paddy fields donated to the Mission and to appoint and dismiss schoolmasters.[84] "The written certificate given to Vēthamāṇickam is a witness both to the confidence Ringeltaube had in his assistant and to his own business like practical mind".[85]

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79 *Ibid.*

80 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 604.

81 The Seminary was later raised to the status of a college and affiliated to the University of Madras under the name of the Scott Christian College. To-day it is one of the premier institutions of higher learning in the Kanyakumari District.

82 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

83 *Ibid.*, P. 615. The certificate, was issued at Mylaudy on 23 Jan. 1816.

84 *Ibid.*

85 I. H. Hacker, *op. cit.*, P.28.

Ringeltaube left Travancore early in 1816 and went to Ceylon. Just before his departure from the scene of his labours, he wrote a pathetic letter to the Directors of the London Missionary Society: "I am fast decaying and am unfit for active service. My work is done and finished, so as to bear the stamp of permanency. Your money cannot be said to have been lost. You will find it in heaven and in the annals of the church of Travancore."[86] He took ship from Ceylon and was heard of at Malacca where he was the guest of William Milne, one of the pioneer L. M. S. missionaries to China. "Then he disappears from view, a lonely and insignificant traveller; he may have died and been buried at sea; or alone and friendless expired in some foreign port".[87] A letter from Colombo[88] states that his liver was seriously affected and as he is known to have sailed from Malacca[89] the most probable explanation is that he died and was buried at sea between Malacca and Batavia.[90] But his missionary work, as he himself claimed in his letter to the Society "bears the stamp of permanency" and his name is cherished by tens of thousands of Christians in connection with the foundation of the Protestant Mission, the first of its kind in Travancore.[91]

The period under review (1806–1816) is an important epoch in the history of Protestant missions in India. Through incessant labour and with dogged perseverance under the most trying conditions the first Protestant mission in Travancore was founded by Ringeltaube with the assistance of Vēdamāṇikkam and a few other devoted Christians. Ringeltaube was a queer person who was, in character and temperament, much different from the conventional type of missionaries. He was considered by persons who knew him to be "an eccentric but a truly Christian man". Caldwell, writing in 1881 made the following observation: He seems to have been a man of considerable powers of observation; and his devoted zeal and self-denying habits, as well as his eccentricities are still remembered by a few aged native Christians in Tinnevelly and

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29

87 *Ibid.*, p. 29

88 Letter dated 24 April 1816 to his sister Hannah. see, Azariah, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

89 A letter dated 27 Sep. 1816 addressed to the treasurer of the L.M.S., was mailed from Malacca. Azariah, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

90 Richard Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Travancore.[92] At Mylaudy he lived in a small native hut ten feet by six and the only articles of furniture were a rude table, two stools and a cot, thus living in the simplest manner, with little regard to personal comfort.[93] He seldom had a coat to wear except when furnished with one by a friend[94] during his occasional visits to Palamcottah. When last seen at Madras he had an extraordinary costume; coatless and with a queer straw hat of native manufacture.[95] But his conversation was most fascinating. To men of action like Macaulay, Munro and Colonel Trotter of Palamcottah he was always a welcome guest and in them he found that Christian companionship his soul craved.[96]

Despite his personal appearance and unpredictable behaviour, Ringeltaube was a man of high principles and strong convictions. To make an objective assessment of his unique role as a pioneering Christian missionary, his work must be reviewed against the peculiar social conditions that prevailed in those days in South Travancore. It was his lot to work among people condemned to eternal servitude and social degradation in a highly caste-ridden society in which the Brahmin ascendancy was complete. Brahmins were the law makers and no wonder every law that was made sought to perpetuate their supremacy. Their crimes were most leniently punished but crimes against them were most severely dealt with. Distance pollution was at its height in those days and a low caste man should always keep a certain distance from an approaching member of a high caste. Each caste was familiar with the prescribed distances within which they might approach or be approached by every other caste in the whole social scale.[97] Because of the theory of pollution the Protestant churches to which persons of all castes were freely admitted, could be built in those days only in remote places and away from public roads.[98] Ringeltaube was moved by the plight of the social outcastes and other exploited sections of the community and chose to work among them. His converts were drawn from the Parayas and largely from the Cānnārs, both castes being subjected to social degradation and consequent ill-treatment at the hands of cruel and greedy

92 Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124.

93 James Hough, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

94 Lieutenant Colonel Charles Trotter stationed at Palamcottah. See James Hough, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

95 Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

96 Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

97 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*. (London, 1883) p. 334.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 333.

local officials. On account of the irksome restrictions imposed on the Paraya caste, towns and thorough-fares were out of bounds for the members of this unfortunate community.

The plight of the Cānnārs of South Travancore was in no way better than that of other low-caste people. They were extremely poor and backward and were subjected to constant ill-treatment, degradation and exploitation. Taxes and other charges collected from them were out of all proportion to their ability to pay. Among the taxes collected from them the most vexatious one was a kind of poll-tax called 'Shanavari.' Each family was bound to pay this tax not only for the members living but also for the dead.[99] Unable to pay the heavy poll-tax many families migrated to the adjoining district of Tinnevelly which was under direct British rule. The revenue accounts of the Travancore Government for the year 1807-8 showed an amount of Rs. 88,044 as Poll-tax collected from the Cānnārs and Īḻavas while the amount collected under this head from other backward communities was only Rs. 4624.[100] In addition to these taxes, the Cānnārs were compelled to render ūḻiyam service or free labour to the Government.[101] To add to the misery, a severe famine ravaged the country and forced many people to leave their homes and migrate to the adjoining British districts. Moved by their plight Ringeltaube represented their grievances to the state Government. On 29 June 1814, an official communication was received from Colonel Munro that the Christian converts were exempted from the poll-tax.[102] In course of time the exemption granted to the Christians was extended to all the members of the Cānnār and Īḻava communities irrespective of religious differences.[103] Again it was through the ceaseless efforts of Ringeltaube and Vēda-māṇikkam that the Christian converts were exempted from Sunday ūḻiyam i.e. work rendered without wages to the Sirkar on Sundays.

The norms Ringeltaube adopted in the matter of conversion were also quite different from the methods employed by other Christian missionaries. He never rushed through the process of conversion. Only those who sincerely believed in Jesus Christ and expressed a genuine desire to become Christians were admitted to the church.[104]

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99 Augur, *op. cit.*, p. 573.
100 *Ibid.*
101 *Ibid.*
102 *Ibid.* p. 574.
103 *Ibid.* p, 579.
104 *Ibid.* p. 561.

Law-abiding by nature and strictly constitutional in his methods Ringeltaube seldom permitted his followers either to break the law to evade the payment of taxes and the discharge of other obligation to the state. When concessions were granted to the Christian converts by the Government he took every precaution to see that such concessions were not abused by them. He was also very particular that concessions granted to the Christians should never provide an incentive to non-Christians to embrace the Christian faith just to escape payment of taxes and other obligations. He never tolerated defiance of authority and even reprimanded his sister Hannah for having written letters to him from Prussia disregarding the ban imposed by Napoleon Bonaparte who was then master of all Germany.[105]

Apart from being the first Protestant missionary in Travancore, Ringeltaube was also the pioneer in the field of education. Years before Macaulay wrote his famous Minute in favour of English being introduced in India as the medium of instruction, Ringeltaube taught that language to those who attended his schools in South Travancore.[136] In addition to the catechists, there were a few school masters who imparted instruction to the youth. In the school which Ringeltaube himself personally superintended, there were sixty children receiving instruction.

Such were the impressive beginnings of the Protestant church in Travancore. The statistics of the Mission as on 25 July 1815 compiled by Ringeltaube himself are available to us and from that statement we understand that there were 747 Christian converts distributed among the seven churches built by him, 188 children in schools and 12 paid servants including 6 school masters and that a sum of 14 star pagodas and 80 chuckrums was disbursed every month by way of salaries.[107] The phenomenal progress achieved by the Mission subsequently bears eloquent testimony to the pioneering spirit and the organising capacity of the first Protestant missionary in Travancore.

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105 Ringeltaube's letter to his sister Hannah dated 1 Nov. 1810 sent from Udayagiri in South Travancore. See Azariah, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

106 Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

107 Augur, *op. cit.* The printed copy of the statistics inserted between pages 622 and 623 may be referred to for further details.

Vijay Krsna Gosvami: Reformer and Traditionalist

BY

ALEXANDER LIPSKI *

Bipincandra Pāl opens his biography of Vijay Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmi with a provocative statement:

> Two men have in a special sense helped to make the religious and spiritual history of Hindu Bengal in the last century. One was Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and the other Bijayakrishna Goswami. Ramakrishna Paramahamsa is more widely known than Bijayakrishna Goswami. This wider, if not indeed world-wide reputation of Paramahamsa is due almost entirely to the missionary labours of Swami Vivekananda.[1]

Pāl may have overstated the significance of his guru by placing him on level with Ramakrishna. But his claim on behalf of Vijay Kṛṣṇa needs to be examined. So far little attention has been paid in the West to the great *bhakta* and leader of the Vaiṣṇava revival. Can it not be argued that *bhakti* was and is more in the mainstream of Indian religious life than the Brahmo movement which has attracted our special attention because of its close contact with the West?

After all, western impact is only one element contributing to the religious renaissance of the nineteenth century. Might it not be profitable to look at the Hindu revival of the nineteenth century from the larger vantage point of the evolution of Hinduism through the ages? It will then become apparent that there were recurrent phases of over-ritualization and stagnation provoking efforts to revitalize Hinduism through *bhakti* movements. During the fourteenth and fifteenth century,

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1 Bipinchandra Pal, *Saint Bijayakrishna Goswami* (Calcutta, 1964), p. 1.

for instance, *bhakti* rose to the challenge of Islam and brought about a religious revival. At the time conditions in Bengal were strikingly similar to those of the early nineteenth century:

> ....there was a lamentable decadence of religious life and ideals in Bengal. The tyranny of an alien rule was aggravated by the greater social tyranny of dominant Brahmanism with its protective, but despotic, spirit. Minute rules and restrictions of an unchanging and stringent code of religious and social duties were prescribed....[2]

The religious leader who infused new vigor into Hinduism at that time was Caitanya (1486-1533) whose teachings greatly affected Vijay Kṛṣṇa. Born of Brahman Vaiṣṇava parents in Navadvip, Bengal, Caitanya taught at a Sanskrit school until the age of twenty-two. Subsequently, under the influence of a guru whom he had met in Gaya, Caitanya gave up teaching. The rest of his life was marked by devotional frenzy. The God-intoxicated Caitanya stimulated a religious revival in Bengal with the aid of *kīrtana* (devotional songs) in praise ofKṛṣṇa to the accompaniment of cymbals, drums and *ektara* (one stringed instrument).[3] Declaring Kṛṣṇa the highest *avatāra* (incarnation) he made a pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana, the site of Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* (sport) and converted it into a major center of worship. Caitanya died at Puri, leaving behind numerous followers.[4]

It is tempting to draw a parallel between the lives of Caitanya and Vijay Kṛṣṇa. Vijay Kṛṣṇa too was a Vaiṣṇava Brahman whose life was radically transformed by a guru in the vicinity of Gaya. He visited the shrines of Vṛindāvana and employed *Kīrtana* to attain ecstasy and finally died in Puri. One of his biographers claims: "All that he did and said in the latter half of his life, may be linked to Chaitanyaism."[5] Significantly many of his disciples consider him an avatāra of Caitanya and allege that Caitanya foretold Vijaya Kṛṣṇā's coming.[6]

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2 Sushil Kumar De, *Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal,* 2nd ed. (Calcutta, 1964), p. 28.

3 It is not certain whether Caitanya actually introduced *kīrtana* or whether it was known earlier. See De, p. 79.

4 De, pp. 67-110.

5 Bishnu Charan Das, *Life of Vijaykrishna* (Calcutta, 1940), p. 3,

6 Sourindra Nath Gangopadhyay, "Sri Sri Vijayakrsna," *Bibartan.* special issue (1966), 3.

Vijay Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmī[7] was born on 2 August, 1841, in the home of his maternal grandfather in Dahakul near Śīkārpur (Nadia district). He was the tenth descendent of Advaita Ācārya, one of the chief followers of Caitanya. The family were hereditary gurus of Caitanyaism having as their religious center Śāntipur (Nadia district) where Vijay Kṛṣṇa spent most of his childhood and youth. His father, Ānanda Kiśor and his mother Svarṇamayī Devī were intensely religiously inclined. It is reported that shortly before the birth of Vijay Ānanda Kiśor made a pilgrimage to Puri. Prostrating himself constantly on the way, he arrived with severe sores on knees and chest at the Jagganāth temple in Puri—truly an example of extreme *tapasya* (asceticism). His mother Svarṇamayī Devī was so devoted that some considered her mad. At the same time she was known for her exceptional charity which she dispensed irrespective of creed or caste.[8] There is no indication that Western influences had affected the parents to any extent.

In attempting to unravel Vijay Kṛṣṇa's childhood, one is faced with the problem that hagiography has already colored accounts of that period and thus it is not easy to separate facts from myth. It appears that Vijay Kṛṣṇa took eagerly to Hindu ritual. He was deeply devoted to the family idol, *Śyamasundara* (one of the names of Kṛṣṇa), to whom he turned for support in times of need. He was greatly attracted to *samnyasins* (renunciants). Even in his early childhood he is said to have experienced ecstatic trances, and he manifested strong faith in the supernatural.[9]

Vijay Kṛṣṇa's education was traditional: in the local *pāthśālā* (elementary school) and *tol* (high school)—English education had not yet penetrated Śāntipur. For a while, however, he attended a school run

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7 Gosvāmī (literally cow lord) title of authoritative religious teachers descended from original disciples of Caitanya. See Melville T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya Movement* (Calcutta, 1925), p. 26.

8 Bankubihari Kar, *Mahātma Vijaykṛṣṇa Gosvāmīr jīban*, 2nd ed., (Calcutta, 1919), 2; Mahescandra De Sarkar, *Srī Srī Vijay Bhagabat* (Calcutta, 1922), 13; Navakumār Bāgchi, *Srī Srī Vijay-Kathāmrita* (Calcutta, 1922), I, 8–10, Amritalal Sengupta, *Srī Madācārya Prabhupad Vijaykṛṣṇa Gosvāmī* 3rd ed. (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 17–27.

9 Sitanāth Gosvāmī, *Balak Vijaykṛṣṇa*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta, 1964). pp. 26–35, 41, 44–45, Sarkar, p. 141, Sengupta, pp. 34–35, Bipincandra Pal, *Memōries of My Life and Times* (Calcutta, 1932), II, 150.

by a missionary where he was first exposed to the bible, apparently in Sanskrit.[10] While he attended the *tol* (1848–1858) he showed an eagerness to assume leadership of worthwhile causes as well as a puritan tendency–both of which were to became more pronounced later on. He became the leader of a group of students who cared for the poor and sick in Śāntipur and set up water—reservoirs in various parts of the town for the benefit of travellers. They also acted as a voluntary police and kept village ruffians in check. Vijay personally was responsible for the construction of separate bathing ghats for men and women to prevent indecent behavior.[11]

The year 1859 was a turning point in Vijay Kṛṣṇa's life. The eighteen year old youth married and moved to Calcutta to attend Sanskrit College. His mother had arranged his marriage to the six year old Yogmāyā Devī, daughter of Rāmacandra Bhadurī and his wife Muktakeśi Devī. This child marriage—a source of great embarrassment when he joined the Brahmo Samaj later–turned out to be most harmonious. During his career as a Brahmo missionary and as a guru Yogmāyā proved a loyal companion and collaborator.[12] Through his move to Calcutta, the metropolis of the British Indian empire, he was now for the first time directly exposed to a totally unaccustomed milieu. Although the students at Sanskrit College came largely from traditional Brahman families, the majority of them had abandoned traditional views and behavior. Moreover, close to Sanskrit College was Hindu College, the breeding ground of "subversive" ideas, where students exhibited their modernity by "cutting their way through ham and beef and wading to liberalism through tumblers of beer."[13] In his autobiographical sketches Vijay Kṛṣṇa blames the study of the English language and English civilization, contact with Englishmen, and Christian missionary activity for making drinking liquor fashionable among Indians. He himself was subjected to tremendous pressure on the part of his fellow students who wanted him to prove that he too was "civilized" by joining them in carousing.[14] He indignantly fended off all attempts at

10 Gosvāmī, 36, 41; Bāgchi, I, 15.

11 Gosvāmī, pp. 81–82; Sarkar, pp. 43–44.

12 Sarkar, pp. 59-60. Four daughters and one son were born to Vijay. Das, p. 109.

13 Atulchandra Gupta, *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance* (Jadavpur, 1958,) p. 29.

14 Sarkar, pp. 55, 65–66; Pāl, *Yuger mānuś Vijaykṛṣṇa* 3rd ed., (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 50–52.

"corrupting" him. But his mind became unsettled under the impact of western ideas, and he began to question his religious assumptions and practices, in particular Hindu ritual and caste strictures. His religious questioning was given further impetus by the disconcerting news that two childhood friends had converted to Christianity.[15]

While he was assailed by religious doubts, the study of the Vedanta at Sanskrit College strengthened his faith, yet, at the same time, it contributed to his partial abandonment of his previously held religious views. An examination of the Upanishads convinced him intellectually of the existence of an impersonal, spiritual reality, transcending time and space and underlying all seemingly real material manifestations. Belief in an impersonal spiritual reality protected him against the materialistic arguments of fellow students, but it also led him to abandon *bhakti* in favour of *jnāni*. At least temporarily he became a non-qualified monist. He carried out this religious *volte face* with an impulsiveness and an enthusiasm bordering on fanaticism which became characteristic features of his whole life. He abruptly decided to discard all ritual and, above all, to abandon as delusive the loving personal relationship to the family idol *Śyamasundara*. After all, "I am Brahman" left no room for idolatry.[16] Substituting an intellectual concept of a spiritual essence without attributes for *Śyamasundara* was contrary to Vijay Kṛṣṇn's nature. He unwittingly suppressed his true self and thereby caused himself deep agony and the experience of a period of spiritual dryness. The dormant *bhakti* element was bound to reassert itself later on.

Continued doubt about those religious practices which he had so far accepted led him to question his own status as a hereditary Vaiṣṇava guru. While studying at Sanskrit College he had intermittently visited his disciples in various parts of northern Bengal, performing initiations, and collecting the customary fees. During a visit to Rangpur, some time in 1860, a woman disciple beseeched him to liberate her from wordly attachments. It now became clear to Vijay Kṛṣṇa that he was in no way fit to save others while he himself was plagued by doubts. In good conscience he could not carry on the function of a guru. This was not just a personal decision but it entailed a general condemnation of "cheap guruism."[17] Abandonment of his hereditary occupation

15 Balak, p. 89.
16 Sarkar, p. 56; Pāl *Yuger mānuś*, p. 52.
17 Gosvāmī, pp. 93-95; Sankar, p. 51.

meant giving up his chief source of income. From then on, throughout the major portion of his life, he experienced extreme financial hardships which were compounded by the fact that he had to support the impoverished family of his wife. It attests to his high idealism that he set aside material considerations when spiritual or ethical principles were at stake.

To obtain a livelihood he decided to study medicine and consequently enrolled in the Bengali section of Calcutta Medical College. Studying medicine seemed to him one way of serving his fellow man. It is quite possible that his humanitarian concern was stimulated by contact with Christian views. In this connection it is important to point out that Vijay Kṛṣṇa was not directly acquainted with western writings. He did not show any interest in learning English[18] which sets him aside from the educated elite of Calcutta and places him in a separate category among modernizers. His refusal to learn English can also be interpreted as a nativist protest against the "corrupting" alien culture. As has been pointed out earlier, however, living in Calcutta, he could not help being exposed to western including Christian ideas. His intense sin feeling which almost obsessed him at that time was most probably the result of Christian influence. Whenever religious doubts or "impure" thoughts assailed him, he felt exceedingly depressed, a feeling which was enhanced by the lack of solace available. No longer did he feel inclined to appeal to *Śyama-sundara* and an impersonal Brahman could not allay the sin feeling.[19] It was as a consequence of this sin feeling and the spiritual dryness that he decided to join the Brahmo Samaj.

Vijaya Kṛṣṇa had first become acquainted with members of the Brahmo Samaj during a visit to Bogura in 1859. He had been deeply impressed by the purity of their manners and their sincerity. They had urged him upon his return to Calcutta to attend Brahmo services conducted by Debendranath Tagore. Now in his quest for religious certainty he remembered the suggestion. Towards the end of 1860, he decided to attend a Brahmo Service. Significantly, on that occasion Debendranath Tagore spoke on "The suffering of sinners and God's mercy." Vijay Kṛṣṇa was deeply moved by the talk, the hymn singing and the general atmosphere. He later referred to the "heavenly talk"

18 Pāl, *Yuger mānuś*, p. 69, Sengupta, *Sri Madācārya*, pp. 86-87.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 105; Das p. 39; Gosvami, p. 93; Sengupta, p. 66.

of Debendranatha Tagore.[20] Debendranath Tagore's allusion to a personal God approachable through prayer appealed to him. It must have been a relief for Vijay to address a personal creator in prayers such as " Inspire us to meditate constantly and lovingly upon Thy immeasurable glory and supreme goodness, so that in the fulness of time our desires may be crowned by the heavenly bliss of everlasting communion with Thee," or " O Supreme Spirit, deliver us from sin committed through delusion and guard us from evil desires, that we may strive to walk in Thy appointed path of righteousness."[21] It was this mode of worship for which he had longed. The spiritual vacuum left by his abandonment of *Śyamasundara* had been at least temporarily filled. It also appealed to him that members of the Brahmo Samaj shared his aversion to drinking, licentiousness and ostentation and that they emphasized truthfulness in thought, speech and action.[22] Summing up his feelings after the service he writes:

> Having heard this lecture my former devotional attitude returned. For such a long time I had not worshipped my *ista devatā* (personal deity). Consequently my soul had been distressed. [Now] my whole body trembled with perspiration and my heart was bathed in streams of tears.[23]

The Vedantic phase was obviously over. But it had served its purpose. For without the Vedantic interlude Vijay Kṛṣṇa would not have been ready to accept the monotheist, iconoclastic views of the Brahmo Samaj. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that in the case of Vijay Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmi spiritual considerations primarily motivated his joining the Brahmo Samaj, even though he actively participated in its social reform program.[24]

Vijay Kṛṣṇa considered his association with the Brahmo Samaj a total commitment. Like a " true believer " he determined to follow the Brahmo teachings to the fullest extent. Thus he adopted an extreme

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20 Sarkar, pp. 67-70; Vijaykṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, *Brahmasamjāer Brahmasamajer Bartamān abasthā ebaṅ amār jibane Brahmasamājer parīkita bisay o kayektī upadeśa*, 3rd ed. (Calcutta, 1953). p. 5.

21 Prosanto Kumar Sen, *Biography of a new faith* (Calcutta, 1950), I, 153.

22 *Brahmasamājer Bartamān abasthā*, p. 4.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

24 Amritalal Sengupta, comp. *Upadeśa saṅgraha* (Calcutta, 1922) p. 17; Sarkar, pp. 67, 149.

interpretation of idolatry. He concluded that it signified not just image worship but all sinful thoughts, sinful speech, in general any attitude contrary to God's commandment. Since the Brahmos preached the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, he concluded that he could no longer retain his sacred thread, the symbol of caste distinction. When his mother threatened to commit suicide were he to discard the thread, he was faced with an agonizing decision. Debendranath Tagore tried to reassure him that there was nothing improper about wearing the sacred thread.[25] Vijay Kṛṣhna remained unconvinced. His sin feeling became so acute that it seemed to him as though the thread "strung him like a scorpion!"[26] Eventually he obtained his mother's consent to remove the sacred thread. As a result of this action he had to suffer all the consequences attendant upon breach of caste rules at that time. As Bipincandra Pāl commended:

> The Brahmin who gives up his thread becomes by that one act, immediately, a Sudra or even worse, a Chandala; for not even non-Brahmins like, for instance, the Kayasthas and Vaidyas of Bengal, would not [sic] touch him or take water from his hands, not to mention cooked food.[27]

When visiting his home town Śāntipur he was stoned and jeered at by neighbours and pelted with rocks by the local children.[28]

Enthusiastic about the Brahmo teachings he concluded that it was his duty to give all his time to the Brahmo Samaj, and that he should therefore terminate his medical studies. An incident at the Calcutta Medical College (in 1863) facilitated that decision. One of the English nstructors had wrongly accused a student of stealing. His sense of justice offended, Vijay Kṛṣṇa organized a student strike, showing again that he was willing to assume leadership when the right cause appeared. Eventually the incident was peacefully settled, but the administration of Calcutta Medical College made it clear to Vijay Kṛṣṇa that he could not continue his studies. He thereupon threw himself into work for the Brahmo Samaj. Already in 1861, he had joined the *Sangat Sabha*, an inner circle of specially dedicated young Brahmos. They regularly

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25 *Brahmasamājer bartamān abasthā*, p. 7.
26 Pal, *Saint Bijaykrishna Goswami*, p. 26.
27 Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, II. 158
28 *Brahmasamājer bartaman abastha*, p. 9 : Sarkar pp. 73-74.

met for theological discussions and for self-improvement sessions during which they freely confessed to each other their "sins." Joining the *Sanghat Sabha* brought him into close contact with Keshub Chunder Sen, the initiator and leading spirit of the *Sanghat Sabha*. Vijay Kṛṣṇa shared with Sen the religious enthusiasm and a devotional temperament. Sen's abandonment of secular work for the sake of working for the Brahmo Samaj contributed to Vijay's resolve to give up his medical studies. It was under inspiration of Sen that Vijay took up missionary work.[29]

Vijay Kṛṣṇa's Brahmo missionary career began when be preached the Brahmo gospel to students on College Street (1860). In 1863 he heard that two hundred families of Pirali Brahmans in Bāg-Ācoṛa, who had suffered persecution at the hands of their orthodox Hindu neighbors, requested a Brahmo minister. He immediately volunteered, and after passing an examination administered by Sen, he was officially appointed a Brahmo missionary and dispatched to Bāg-Ācoṛa. Vijay was not only able to convert twenty-nine families to Brahmoism, but he also took care of their general welfare. He established a school for Brahmo children in which he personally taught. At the same time he made use of his medical knowledge gained during his three years study at the Calcutta Medical College. He set up a dispensary and attended to the sick, working till late at night, refusing pay for his medical services and even frequently paying for medicine out of his own pocket. He also turned down Debendranath Tagore's offer of a fixed monthly allowance. Under the circumstances he and his growing family underwent frequent periods of semi-starvation and, as Bipincandra Pāl relates, was at times forced to eat clay.[30] Vijay Kṛṣṇa considered that *sādhanā* (spiritual discipline) required renunciation of material security and total reliance on divine help. Instead of withdrawing from the world, he decided to live a life of wordly asceticism.[31] One may wish to consider this sādhanā an adaptation of traditional renunciation to modern conditions. But one can equally well argue that it is quite in keeping with Lord Kṛṣṇa's injunction in the *Bhagavad Gita* to act unselfishly without considering the fruits of action.

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29 Sengupta, *Srī Madācārya*, p. 70; Sen, I, 257-258; Sarkar, p. 75, Sivanath Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj* (Calcutta, 1911), I, 127-29.

30 Sastri, I, 145, 151; II, 377-378; Sarkar, pp. 79-80; Sengupta, *Srī Madācārya*, pp. 74-75; Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, II, 161.

31 Pal, *Yuger manus*, pp. 138-139.

While enthusiastically engaged in missionary work, Vijay Kṛṣṇa was responsible for raising an issue which contributed to the eventual split in the Brahmo Samaj. In spite of the fact that the Brahmo creed emphasized the concept of human brotherhood, two Brahman *upācāryas* (assistant ministers) of the Brahmo Samaj continued to wear sacred threads. Vijay Kṛṣṇa seized upon this inconsistency, and with the approval of Sen, demanded the dismissal of the two men. Only reluctantly did Debendranath Tagore yield to Vijay Kṛṣṇa's protest. When later Tagore reconsidered and restored the two ministers, Vijay Kṛṣṇa, in 1864, reacted passionately in defense of what appeared to him a sacred principle.[32] He dissuaded like-minded Brahmos from attending further services until the two thread-bearing ministers were removed permanently. This was the first in a chain of events producing the schism in the Brahmo Samaj. In 1866 the more conservative members under Debendranath Tagore formed the Adi Brahmo Samaj and the more radical wing under the leadership of Sen and including Vijay founded the Brahmo Samaj of India.[33]

The frictions within the Brahmo Samaj did not impede Vijay Kṛṣṇa's missionary successes in Eastern Bengal and Assam which he had been touring from 1865 on, visiting among other, Barisal, Noakhali, Citagram, Mymensingh and Rangpur, fanning enthusiasm for the Brahmo cause wherever he went. He owed his missionary successes to his great sincerity and enthusiasm, but, above all, to his introduction of Vaiṣṇava emotionalism which appealed especially to the less westernized portion of the population.[34] The spectacular missionary venture was fraught with all types of dangers and undertaken under most difficult conditions, considering the poor communications at that time. He frequently went on foot, swam across rivers, and fought his way through jungles barely escaping death at the hand of wild beasts. During his trip to Assam he had just enough money for a steamer ticket and practically starved on the trip.[35] Keshub Chunder Sen was delighted with Vijay's triumph and congratulated him (end of 1865):

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32 Sarkar, pp. 83-84; Sengupta, p.77. Sastri I, 152-155; *Yuger Mānuś* pp. 128-29.

33 Sarkar, pp. 84-85.

34 Das, p. 69: Pal, *Yuger mānuś*, pp. 104–105.

35 Sarkar, pp. 92–93, 95-105; Das, pp. 101-102.

> Victory, victory, Vijay's victory! That you are carrying the banner of victory can be seen from here. The wave of enthusiasm reaches me here and stirs my mind. God has kindled a scorching fire in your heart which burns to ashes error, and superstition. . . .[36]

The Vaiṣṇava element in Vijay Kṛṣṇa's missionary activity had been first unintentional, an instinctive reflection of his Vaiṣṇava background. But in 1866 his latent Vaiṣṇava *bhakta* tendency came to the fore and assumed conscious direction. Deeply disturbed by personal frictions between various groups within the Brahmo movement following the split, he had temporarily lost his religious security and equanimity. To compose himself he had retired to Ṣāntipur. There he had sought out a devoted Vaiṣṇava, Harimohan Prāmāṇik, whom he consulted about his religious doubts. Harimohan Prāmāṇik urged him to read *Caitanya-Caritāmṛita*. It was like home coming: the book became his steady companion from now on – in total he is supposed to have read it thirty-three times.[37] A new phase in his *sādhanā* had started. He visited various Vaiṣṇava leaders, among them one Caitanya Dās Bābājī who instructed him in *Prembhakti* (*bhakti* of love), the highest love according to the Vaiṣṇava scale of devotional sentiments—a stage when an exclusive attachment to the divine has been attained and all ego feeling has been eliminated.[38] By delving deep into Caitanyaism his religous fervor was restored, and he felt secure enough to resume his missionary activity which assumed more and more openly Vaiṣṇava form. In September 1867 Vijay Kṛṣṇa was visited by his elder brother, Brāja-gopàla, a renowned *kīrtana* singer, who enchanted Vijay with his singing. Vijay became convinced that no true devotion was possible without *kīrtana*. Since Sen shared Vijay's sentiments about *kīrtana*, it was officially introduced in the Brahmo Samaj of India in October, 1867. From that time on *kīrtana* street processions became an integral part of the celebration of major festivals.[39]

As the emotional tempo in the Brahmo Samaj became intensified some of the more extreme *bhaktis* began to assume towards Sen the

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36 Sarkar, p. 94; Sengupta, pp. 95-96.
37 Sarkar, pp. 87-89.
38 Sarkar, *ibid*; De, pp. 170–172, 180-181.
39 There is some controversy as to whether Vijay Kṛṣṇa was chiefly responsible for the introduction of *kīrtana* or whether credit should be equally given to Sen. See Kennedy, p. 78; Das, p. 85, Sastri, I, 217; Sarkar, pp. 106-108: Sengupta, 105.

conduct appropriate among *śiśyas* (disciples) towards their guru and prostrated themselves in front of him, addressing him as "master" or savior."[40] Vijay Kṛṣṇa, who had earlier opposed "cheap guruism" and rejected the role of a savior, was deeply shocked at the new trend. As in the case of the thread bearing ministers, he took the initiative in fighting for "truth". He consequently wrote a letter of protest against what he termed "manworship" in October 1868. The letter was published in the "Daily News" and in "Somprakāś," provoking a conflict within the Brahmo movement. Dismayed by the acrimonious dispute, Vijay, as in the past, sought refuge in Śantipur. A few months later he was visited there by Sen and persuaded to write a letter of recantation early in 1869. He apologized for having precipitated a conflict and declared that he had become convinced that Sen was not personally responsible for "man worship." Vijay's behaviour in this instance lends further credibility to the charge that he acted impulsively at times.[41]

The clash between Sen and Vijay Kṛṣṇa had no personal elements and their friendship continued unabated. When Sen returned from his English journey in 1870 and established the Indian Reform Association, he placed Vijay Kṛṣṇa in charge of its charity section. During an outbreak of a malaria epidemic in Behalā, a suburb of Calcutta, Vijay worked untiringly among the malaria striken while keeping up a strenuous schedule of worship and teaching until he eventually broke down and contracted a heart disease which remained with him for the rest of his life.[42]

Vijay Kṛṣṇa also joined Sen in his endeavor to establish a more strict form of ascetic living on a communal basis for specially advanced devotees in his *Bharat Āśram* inaugurated on 5 February, 1872. His whole family enthusiastically participated in this communal spiritual venture. As Vijay expressed it:

> There is no liberation through individual spiritual effort. All together in quest of salvation and bound by family ties must we advance towards the Kingdom of Heaven.[43]

40 Sarkar, pp. 109–110.
41 Sen, II, 7-13: Sastri, I, 230-232; Bagchi, I, 116–124. Dwijadas Dutta, *Behold the Man* (Calcutta, 1930), p. 8.
42 Sastri, I, 241-242, Sarkar, 123.
43 *Brahmasamājer bartamān abstha*, p. 29.

Both Sen and Vijay Kṛṣṇa were deeply affected by their meeting with the sage of Dakshineswar, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa in 1875. Vijay Kṛṣṇa realized that, for the first time in his life, he was in the presence of a spiritual giant. Ramakrishna too was attracted to Vijay and referred to him as the guiless one. He predicted that Vijay would not remain much longer in the Brahmo Samaj since "he was knocking at God's door,"[44] a not too subtle hint that the Brahmo Samaj was not the place were God could be found. Under this influence he decisively modified his religious views. He no longer looked disapprovingly at "guruism," and he abandoned his strictly monotheistic view, accepting God in the aspect of Mother Kali. The universalist element in his later teachings may also be ascribed to Ramakrishna's influence.

Vijay Kṛṣṇa's relationship to Sen was also affected by his exposure to Ramakrishna. In 1877 Sen had divided his closet followers into *jñāna karma* and *bhakta* yogis. Sen instructed Vijay in *bhakti* Yoga and eventually declared that Vijay Kṛṣṇa had reached the height of *bhakti*. Vijay rejected Sen's judgement indicating thereby that he did not consider Sen competent to gauge his level of spiritual attainment.[45] He even suggested that it would be in the interest of the Brahmo Samaj if Sen were to accept Ramakrishna as his guru.[46] For some inexplicable reason, Vijay Kṛṣṇa himself does not seem to have considered becoming a disciple of Ramakrishna.

Meanwhile, the frictions accompanying the "man-worship" charges had never been fully allayed, in spite of Vijaya's recantation. The more radical and rationalistically inclined elements in the Brahmo Samaj watched with apprehension the introduction of extreme *bhakti*, the ascetic trend and the lessened interest on the part of Sen in a vigorous reform program. Those who felt that the Brahmo Samaj ought to be constitutionally governed resented Sen's increasing authoritarianism. All opposing forces came to a head at the time of the Cooch-Behar marriage incident. Under the leadership of Sen and with the enthusiastic support of Vijay Kṛṣṇa, the Brahmo Samaj of India had been able to prevail upon the British Government in India

44 Srī M., *Srī Srī Rāmakṛsnakathāmṛita*, 10th reprint (Calcutta, 1970) IV, 183; Sarkar, pp. 141-142.

45 Sarkar, p. 125.

46 Kuladananda Brahmacari, *Srī Srī Sadguru Sanga*, 4th ed., (Puri 1963), V. 83.

to pass the Civil Marriage Act in 1872, fixing the minimum age for bridegroom and bride at eighteen and fourteen respectively. In contravention of this act, Sen had consented to the marriage of his daughter who was not yet fourteen to the fifteen year old son of the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar. Vijay Kṛṣṇa was in no way aligned with the rationalistic and radical groups and he had no personal axe to grind, but he felt that for reasons of consistency he had to protest strongly against the Cooch-Behar marriage. When Sen ignored Vijay's warning and carried through his marriage plans, Vijay assumed a leading role among those who seceded from the Brahmo Samaj of India and formed the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj on May 15, 1878.[47] Again Vijay Kṛṣṇa had taken the initiative in what he considered a righteous cause. As in the case of the first schism, he was in the forefront of those who defended a modern point of view against tradition. Yet his association with the radical "forward looking" Brahmos was incidental even incongruous. The major thrust of his personal religious development was to bring him into conflict with the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj before long.

While Vijay Kṛṣṇa served in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj from 1878 to 1886, a drastic religious transformation during that period alienated him more and more from the leadership in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, especially from Sivanāth Sastri and Ānanda Mohan Bose, eventually leading to his dissociation from the work of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Sivanāth Sastri comments upon this development thus:

> During that period he had begun to associate with some orthodox Hindu mendicants, from whom he imbibed certain mystic ideas, which were not in keeping with the reformed principles of the Brahmo Samaj.[48]

In retrospect Vijay stated that he had joined the Brahmo movement to find God and to gain peace. When he had realized that his foremost goals could not be attained within the Brahmo fold, he had looked elsewhere.[49]

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47 Sarkar, pp. 127-128, 131; Das, pp. 97-98. According Dwijadas Datta, Vijay at first was the leading figure in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. See Dutta, p. 221.

48 Sastri, II, 175-176.

49 Sengupta, *Upadeśa saṅgraha*, p. 18.

Reading *Caitanya-caritāmṛita* and engaging in *kīrtana* had given Vijay temporary satisfaction only. The spiritual quest continued. During a visit to Allahabad in 1869 he encountered a Christian missionary whom he questioned concerning the purpose of man's existence and the nature of the universe. The missionary's answers did not impress him, and he concluded that traditional Hinduism provided more satisfying answers to ultimate questions than Christianity. Vijay subsequently sought out various sadhus who persuaded him to look for a guru.[50] By no means was Vijay the only Brahmo in search of a guru. Several members of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj had taken initiation from gurus of the *Karta-Bhajā* sect.[51] According to Bipincandra Pāl: "They believed that real faith must come from the direct realization of Truth and not from religious instructions or catechism."[52]

While the other Brahmos remained with the *Karta-Bhajās* Vijay's quest did not stop there. He went from guru to guru testing the *sādhanās* of groups such as the Bauls, Moslem faqirs, and Kabirpanthis. All of them had that in common that they emphasized an inward attitude rather than outward ceremonies; that they disregarded caste; and that they insisted on the need of accepting a guru. None of the teachings gave him lasting satisfaction.[53] Eventually, in July, 1883, during a visit to Gaya his search came to an end. He relates that in the Akāś Ganga hill region near Gaya he found "his" guru: "Finally through God's mercy at Gaya a mahatma of the path of Nanak had mercy on me and instructed me in yoga."[54] It is rather disconcerting for a fact-hungry historian not to be able to identify the person who drastically affected the life of Vijay Kṛṣṇa. But we are dealing here with a major impact made by someone who is beyond the ken of history. Vijay Kṛṣṇa mentions that his guru was a Punjabi Brahman living normally at Lake Manasarovar in Tibet and inaccessible to common mortals. His name was Brahmananda Paramahamsa. He initiated Vijay in some form of yoga[55] and ordered him to go to Banares where he took the vow of samnayāsin from a Swami Hariharananda Saraswati. The

50 Sarkar, pp. 120-121.

51 Datta, pp. 236–237; Pal, *Saint Bijayakrisna Gaswami*, pp. 54-58.

52 Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, II, 173.

53 Sengupta, *Srī Madācārya*, pp, 139–141; Das, 118-119; Sarkar, pp. 147-48.

54 Sarkar, p. 161.

55 Saratkumari Basu, *Sadguru-Kathāmṛita* (Dacca, 1928) pp. 34-43; Sarkar, pp. 165-66.

Swami enjoined him to continue living with his family and to serve the Brahmo Samaj regardless of the vow of renunciation. Vijay Kṛṣṇa emphasized that he would have liked to withdraw from all worldly activities then and there. His guru, however, pointed out to him that it was his function to spread the yoga teachings revealed to him at Gaya through the instrumentality of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, at least temporarily. The inaccessible guru found it convenient to use an already existing organization for the dissemination of his message.[56]

Vijay Kṛṣṇa not only fails to supply us with detailed information about Brahmananda Paramhansa, but he also gives only sparse data about his teachings. He taught a type of *prāṇāyama* (breath control) in which the name of Hari (Kṛṣṇa) is mentally chanted in co-ordination with inhalation and exhalation of the breath. He impressed upon Vijay the importance of living in accordance with the *śāstras* (sacred writings). And he insisted that Vijay take initiation in the tantric method. All this seems hardly compatible with Vijay's claim that his guru belonged to the path of Guru Nanak. Probably the most significant aspect of Brahmananda's teaching was his stress on abiding by the *śāstras*, including the *Purānas*. Heretofore Vijay Kṛṣṇa, in accordance with the Brahmo creed, had totally disregarded the *Purāṇas*. By accepting the *Purāṇas*, considered to be the epitome of medieval superstition, Vijay aligned himself with the traditionalists. Thus the encounter with his guru at Gaya marks a decisive turn away from reform—a turn that was permanent: Vijay's religious *Wanderjahre* were over.

Whatever may have taken place at Gaya, there seems little doubt that a transformed Vijay Kṛṣṇa returned to Calcutta. Debendranath Tagore is said to have remarked: " You look like a new person, "and he added that he did not expect him to remain with the Brahmo movement for much longer.[57] Ramakrishna exclaimed: " What a change has come over Vijay, like thick milk from which water has been boiled off. I can recognize a Paramahamsa."[58] While Vijay resumed his Brahmo activity, he approached it with a different attitude. Social service receded into the background. There was a further intensification of bhakti. Images of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and Durgā were now set up in

56 Sarkar, pp. 164-165. He was given the name Swami Acyutananda Saraswati, *ibid.*, p. 164.

57 Sarkar, p. 169.

58 Srī M., I, 225.

his home. In defence of this traditional mode of worship he argued, in agreement with Ramakrishna, that image veneration was a perfectly legitimate means of worship until one had attained the highest stage of realization when images were no longer required: "I believe that there is nothing so helpful to the achievement of right living and yoga as the idea symbolized in the relation of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā being the worshipper and Kṛṣṇa being God, the divine Person worshipped."[59]

Most importantly he assumed the role of a guru in the traditional sense, giving initiations and teaching *prāṅayāma*.[60] While he had earlier condemned guruism, he now defended it, reasoning that although all men were potentially divine, only a few men had actually realized the divine potential and were entitled to be spiritual teachers (gurus). Previously he had taken exception to the fact that people had prostrated themselves in front of Sen. Now he urged people to take the dust of the feet of gurus and parents. This reversal must have caused him discomfort, and he required tortuous argumentation to justify this obvious inconsistency. On the one hand, he emphasized that actually there was only one guru, God. On the other hand, men ought to revere the one God in all persons but especially in gurus and parents. That, in his estimate, was not equivalent to "man worship." As in the case of images, it was a question of veneration not worship. It is only fair to add that he frequently prostrated himself to his disciples.[61]

As a result of his changed attitude towards the *śāstras*, image and guruism, Vijay Kṛṣṇa had removed the major obstacles that had separated him from traditional Hindu society, and as a consequence he attracted an ever increasing number of orthodox disciples. His standing among the orthodox Hindus was further reinforced when he received public recognition from traditional gurus, such as Arjun Dās, Loknāth Brahmācārya and Kāthya Bābā.[62]

While Vijay Kṛṣṇa was now appealing to the more traditional elements of the Bengali population, he faced increasing hostility from the more secularly and less devotionally inclined Brahmos who accused

59 Sengupta, *Srī Madācārya*, p. 230.

60 Sarkar, pp. 181-190.

61 Das, pp. 155-156; taperecording of reminiscences of Vijay Kṛṣṇa's disciple, Mahendra Mitra, heard in Calcutta, 20 October, 1972.

62 Das, p. 149. Pal *Saint Bījaykrishna Goswami*, p.106; Sankaranāth Ray, *Bharater Sadhak*, 5th ed., (Calcutta, 1970), III, 321-337.

him of back-sliding. A sub-committee of the Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj investigated charges against him and concluded that he was guilty of (1) introducing prāṇāyama (2) guruism (3) images.[63] While the investigation was under way Vijay Kṛṣṇa on 13 May, 1886, issued to the Brahmo public a statement in his defense which included the following:

> Whatever is true is Brahmoism.
> Brahmoism is the universal religion.
> There is no place for a sect in it.
> For this reason wherever I get truth, and
> whatever I realize to be true I accept..
> I am the slave of slaves of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, the New Dispensation, the Adi Samaj, the Hindu, the Christian, and the Mohammedan Samaj.[64]

On May 17, 1886, he tendered his resignation.[65]

By identifying his views with truth, he no longer meant the concept of truth of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, which was based on individual reason and conscience, i. e., a modern western point of view. Instead he considered as truths those intuitive insights that came to the yogi after practicing *tapasya*. His acceptance of the śāstras, for instance, was based on his belief that they were the result of intuitive insight. Consequently, when a disciple asked him why it was not proper to arrive at truth by first questioning all premises, Vijay Kṛṣṇa retorted that that was a western approach. In contrast, the authors of the sastras enjoined man "First practice [austerities, prāṇāyama] and then [you will] understand."[66] Vijay Kṛṣṇa's definition of truth is similar to that Mahatma Gandhi who objected to individual reason stating that there was so much untruth: ".... because we have at the present moment everybody claiming the right of conscience without going through any discipline whatsoever."[67] Since reason is one of the mainstays of a modern view of life, an appeal to intution signifies the rejection of modernity.

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63 Datta, pp. 235-340; Sengupta, *Sri Madācārya*, pp. 235-236.

64 Sengupta, *Srī Madācārya*, pp. 231-232.

65 *Ibid*., p. 231.

66 Kuladananda, III, 151-152.

67 R. K. Prabhu and Rao, U. R., comp., *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi* (Ahmedabad, 1967), p. 42.

Following his resignation from the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Vijay Kṛṣna for a few months, officiated as a minister of the East Bengal Brahmo Samaj, which had been independent since 1879. There too his religious practices met with criticism, and early in 1887 he withdrew from the East Bengal Brahmo Samaj. Although severing all outward ties to the Brahmo movement, Vijay continued to have contact with individual members of all three Brahmo societies throughout the rest of his life. In retrospect he expressed his deeply felt gratitude for the spiritual solace he had obtained while serving the Brahmo Samaj.[68]

For the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Vijay Kṛṣṇa's resignation meant the victory of the secular, rationalistic element over the devotionally oriented Brahmos. Unquestionably the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was adversely affected by Vijay Kṛṣṇa's ouster, and this contributed to its decline. Sivanāth Sastri in his *History of the Brahmo Samaj* summarizes the post-Vijay Kṛṣṇa activity of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. His account clearly shows that the Samaj was primarily concerned with social improvements and constitutional issues. The spiritual aspect was sorely neglected.[69] Sastri frankly acknowledges the fact that the movement was suffering from the lack of a charismatic personality. He laments the absence of "self-surrender and self-consecration", and the loss of missionary drive.[70] This is precisely what Vijay Kṛṣṇa had stood for. Sastri also remarks: ....“I am not blind to the fact that we are liable to the charge that our eyes are turned more to the West than the East......”[71] Another member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Dvijadas Dutta, reinforces this view by stating that those who had opposed Vijay Kṛṣṇa frowned upon too much devotion and regreted "too little Europeanization in our manners."[72]

Statements, such as too little or too much leaning towards the West, make it clear that at stake in this dispute within the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was not just a religious issue but the question to what an extent one should identify oneself with Western (alien) or Eastern (indigenous) values. One must bear in mind that the eighties were a time of rising nationalism in India—a year before Vijay's resignation from the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, the Indian National Congress had

68 Kuladananda, III, 157; Sengupta, p. 441.
69 Sengupta, pp. 237-239; Sastri, II, 254-266.
70 Sastri, II, 272.
71 *Ibid.*, II, 278.
72 Dutta, p. 224.

been founded. Consequently, Vijay's proclamation of a traditional concept of truth superior to that of Western reason was bound to appeal even to those who were not primarily religiously motivated but were searching for a common Indian identity. His defense of guruism, images and *bhakti* could be used to juxtapose Indian spirituality with western skepticism and materialism. As far as Vijay Kṛṣṇa is concerned, spiritual reasons for his stand seem to have predominated, for he can be classified as primarily a *homo religious*, in contrast to, for instance, Bankimcandra Chatterjee who apparently was more nationalistically motivated.

To explain the decline of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and the rise of revivalist tendencies, one must also consider the fact that when religion is drained of emotional contents it tends to become an empty shell. A purely intellectual approach to religion satisfies only a few. This applies just as much to Bengal in the nineteenth century as to the religious situation in this country where churches using a purely intellectual approach and concentrating on social service find it difficult to keep a large congregation.[73]

Unquestionably the emotional aspect of Vijay Kṛṣṇa's religious activity increased still further after he had quitted the East Bengal Brahmo Samaj. Professor B. C. Das states: "....the deepening of feeling and the voicing of the heart's warm experience in the *Samkirtan* parties conducted by Vijayakrisha, came as he passed more and more to the pure emotionalism of Chaitanya....,"[74] That with Vijay Kṛśṇa we are dealing with a truly charismatic personality is attested to by Bipincandra Pāl:

> His congregation grew of itself attracted by his character and personality. He did not set himself up as a centre of a new spiritual life. Men and women flocked to him driven by the hunger of their soul.[75]

In increasing numbers disciples came to Vijay's ashram in Gendaria, a suburb of Dacca, where he lived from 1888 to 1897. In 1890, Vijay made a pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana and Matura, to visit the sacred

73 Jacob Needleman, *The New Religions* (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

74 Das, p. 218.

75 Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, II, 200.

grounds where Kṛṣṇa's līlā had been enacted.[76] In 1894 he attended the Kumbha Mela in Allahabad where he set up statues of Caitanya and Nityananda, apart from Advaita, the greatest disciple of Caitanya. During his month long stay in Allahabad, sadhus from various parts of India paid homage to him. This was a high point in the revival of the Caitanya cult.[77] In March 1897, when Vijay realized that his life was drawing to a close, he moved from Gendaria to Puri, obviously in imitation of Caitanya who had died in Puri. Vijay Kṛṣṇa's death occurred 4 June, 1899, presumably from poisoning.[78]

It remains to summarize Vijay's teachings and activities since his initiation by Brahmananda Paramhamsa, with a view to determining to what extent he had become a traditionalist and what his relationship was to the evolution of nationalism. If we accept Stephen Hay's definition of modernization: "a continuing process of improvement directed toward the achievement of this wordly enlightenment and well-being,"[79] then Vijay Kṛṣṇa may be considered mainly a traditionalist, for he opposed rationalism and was little concerned with this-worldly goals. It is significant that one of his last public acts in Puri was undertaken in defense of sacred monkeys, in deference to Hanumanji. Thus when the municipality of Puri passed an order for the extermination of monkeys charging that they were a nuisance, Vijay launched a vigorous agitation to prevent the slaughter of monkeys. With the aid of his followers and the skillful use of newspapers a campaign was unleashed in defense of Hinduism which had definitely nationalistic overtones, for it involved the defense of one's indigenous heritage against alien interference. Vijay proved successful and the ordinance prohibiting killing of monkeys was reinstated.[80]

76 Kuladanada, II, 2, 60-65; Das, p. 212.

77 Das, pp. 211-225; Pal, *Saint Bijayakrishna Goswami*, pp. 85–86.

78 Sengupta, pp. 582-593. None of the authors give plausible reasons for the poisoning of Vijaya Krsna. They ascribe it to a plot hatchel by "evil" people, and they claim that Vijay Krsna knew that he was to be poisoned, yet he willingly ate the poisoned food offered by "evil-eyed individuals." Das, pp. 331-334; Sengupta, pp. 582–593; Kuladananda Brahmacari, ed. *Acarya-Prasanga*, 3rd ed. (Puri, 1970), p. 364. One is reminded of similar accounts in connection with the passing of the Buddha and the Tibetan yogi Milarepa.

79 Stephen N. Hay, "Western and Indigenous Elements in Modern Indian Thought: The Case of Rammohun Roy," in Marius B. Jansen, ed. *Changing Japanese attitudes toward Westernization* (Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 325.

80 Kar, 307-309; Das, pp. 314–318.

Life during the last phase followed the traditional asharam routine: daily pujas, *kīrtana*, frequent *yajnas* (sacrifices). A reformist attitude is still perceptible in his approach to ritual. He deprecates the mechanical performance of external rites without sincerity. Wearing an ochre robe without having the proper inner attitude toward renunciation was worthless.[81] Vijay repeatedly emphasizes that his teachings were non-sectarian. In his talks he occasionally refers to Buddha, Christ, Mohammed and Guru Nanak.[82] Yet Caitanya is the center of his teachings. He alludes to the fact that he considers himself to be under the guidance of Caitanya, and that Caitanya had ordered him to move to Puri.[83] During his stay in Puri he paid special homage to all those sites associated with Caitanya's activity.[84]

A summary of his lectures and discussions indicates that his teachings are almost exclusively drawn from the Vedas, Upanishads, the Mahabharata, Ramayana and the Purāṇas. The interpretation is largely traditional: man must seek the divine unconditionally. He must overcome craving and engage in unceasing devotion. The mode of teaching reminds one somewhat of Ramakrishna. Thus Vijay advocates that one ought to cultivate an attitude towards God similar to that of a small child who longs to be on her mother's lap.[85] The reformist spirit can be seen in his warning against complete withdrawal from the world. Rather does he advise: "To be in this world but not of this world." Living in the forest as a hermit does not free one automatically from desires. Instead one should learn to carry out one's worldly duties desirelessly.[86] Of course, this advise is already contained in the *Bhagavad Gita.*

His attitude towards women is a mixture of modern and traditional elements, with the traditional ones prevailing. He continues to favour equal status for women and refers to the advance that England has made by giving equal treatment to her women. To satisfy his need for national self-esteem he points out that women had a high status in early Vedic times and claims that among the Marathas women were

81 Das, 311; Kuladananda, *Ācārya-Prasanga*, pp. 67-69; Vijay Kṛṣṅa Gosvāmī, *Boktrita o Upadeśa* (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 37, 48.
82 Das, p. 278.
83 Kar, 303; Das, 309
84 Das, p. 313; Sengupta, *Srī Srī Madācārya*, p. 529.
85 Vijay Krsna Gosvami, p. 32.
86 *Ibid.*, p. 119; Vijay Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, *Āśābatira Upakhyān* (Dacca, 1930), p. 22.

considered the equal of men.[87] At the same time he urges wives to be obedient to their husbands, and he opposes widow remarriage."[88]

In agreement with Ramakrishna he warns against woman and gold, although contrary to Ramakrishna, Vijay considers gold to be a greater evil than woman:

> Craving for anything is harmful. Still craving for money is more injurious than craving for women. Enjoyment sometimes leads to diminuition of the lust for women. . . . but it is not at all easy to free oneself from greed for money. . . .[89]

To understand Vijay Kṛṣṇa's attitude towards women one has to bear in mind that it was partly caused by the traditional view that sex depletes man's life force and interferes with his spiritual advance. Thus he counsels his disciples to prevent ejection of semen during sexual intercourse.[90] With all his declared sympathy for women, he considers them innately inferior to men and alleges that "the body of a women is impure owing to some natural cause.[91] Under no circumstances could women attain *siddhi* (highest spiritual attainment). He personally seems to have had at one time strong carnal craving, for he relates that once during a visit to Lahore on a missionary tour for the Brahmo Samaj he was overcome by intense desire for an eight or nine year old girl whom he pursued to her doorstep. Afterwards he felt so ashamed that he almost committed suicide. From that time on, he never looked at a woman for any length of time. In contrast to the "permissive" attitude prevailing in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, he insisted on the separation of the sexes during religious services at his ashram. As can be expected, he vigorously opposed the use of sex for spiritual purposes. When a woman in Vṛndāvana asked him whether according to the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā cult, she could engage in *parakīyā* (love of man for a woman who belongs to another man), he strongly advised her against it.[92]

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87 Kuladananda, *Srī Srī Sadguru Sanga*, V, 153-154.
88 Sengupta, *Upadeśa Saṅgraha*, p. 217.
89 Kulananda, IV, 43.
90 *Ibid.*, V, 192.
91 *Ibid.*, III, 255.
92 Sarkar, pp. 117–118; Kuladananda, *Srī Srī Sadguru Sanga*, V, 155–156.
93 Kuladananda, III, 22.

Examining Vijay's attitude towards the caste system one again encounters ambivalence, a mixture of traditional and modern views: a defense of the indigenous institution tempered by a modicum of reform. In defense of the institution of caste he uses an argument later on also taken up by Gandhi,[94] that caste originally was based on individual differences, i.e., that men were endowed with varying proportions of *sattvic* (truth) *rājasic* (passion) and *tāmasic* (darkness, ignorance) qualities. Thus a Brahmin might actually be a Sudra, if *tāmas* prevailed in his make-up. As a further justification he points to the fact that all nations have some sort of social division based on profession or prestige. As far as India was concerned, only when one had attained the exalted state of *paramahansa* (supreme swan; ascetic of the highest order) was one above class or caste distinction.[95] A trace of modern influence is apparent from his view that spiritual progress is not possible until caste prejudice is overcome. One ought to treat everyone equally and thereby vanquish one's pride. Once, when someone in his ashram was disturbed by the fact that he permitted people of different castes to eat together, he replied: "There is no sin in communal eating in the Guru's house. But if I went to your home, I would not do that. One ought to do what is customary [in a particular home]." This is a clear sign that he was no social crusader any longer and that he refused to interfere with customary practices. Vijay Kṛṣṇa even praised Haridās, Caitanya's great Moslem devotee, for refusing to eat with others and remaining at a distance — that was a praiseworthy mark of humility!- a far cry from the time when Vijay defied caste distinctions.

Since caste was so much bound up with commensuality, one could expect Vijay Kṛṣṇa to assume traditional views in regard to food. In fact he had become convinced that eating had ritual significance: "Eating is to be regarded as the highest form of worship. Done properly it alone proves to be sufficient — nothing else is necessary."[98] He strongly believed that the kind of food you eat affects your nature and consequently your *sādhanā*. In the early stages of one's *sādhanā* eating fish was still acceptable. Later on strict vegetarianism was imperative. Ideally one ought to eat in silence, apart from others. At

94 Prabhu and Rao, p. 109.
95 Kuladananda, III, 118–119.
96 *Ibid.*, II, 116.
97 *Ibid.*, III, 20.
98 *Ibid.*, I, 101.
99 *Ibid.*, II, 132.

the very least, one should keep *tāmasic* people from seeing or touching one's food.[100] He fails to suggest criteria for detecting *tāmasic* individuals !

One more aspect of Vijay's activity need to be considered. Just before his death he undertook a major campaign on behalf of the poor of Puri. With all his emphasis on spirituality, he had not become insensitive to the physical sufferings of his fellowmen. Thousands of rupees were collected by his disciples in a campaign that was conducted in a traditional mode, for Vijay had instituted a *Dāna Yajna* (charity sacrifice). Here we see the use of a traditional symbol, *yajna*, for a modern end. A contemporary parallel can be found in Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan Yajna* (landgift sacrifice).

Were one to ask Vijay Kṛṣṇa why he had abandoned most modern values, he would in all probability reply that he had embraced those values which were neither traditional nor modern but independent of time, i. e., "perennial wisdom:"

> It is not advisable to lightheartedly disregard as superstitious those supreme truths which the sages discovered through long *tapasya*. They left behind for our good what they realized as truth.[102]

That the "perennial" values in all cases were those of India and not of the West fitted in with his belief in the superiority of India's method of discovering truth. It is precisely his faith in the validity of India's traditional value system that places him among those who provided an ideological basis for India's national consciousness. Janajan Pāl, the son of Bipincandra Pāl, reinforces this view by suggesting that Vijay Kṛṣṇa was primarily responsible for inspiring leaders of the freedom movement in Bengal, such as Bipincandra Pāl, Āsvinī Kumār Datta, Monoranjan Guha Thakur and Śatiscandra Mukherjea, all Vijay's *śiśyas* (disciples).[103] In this paper Vijay's impact on Pāl alone will be briefly appraised.

Pāl, who became "the mightiest voice that was speaking against British rule in India...."[104] was profoundly influenced by his guru.

100 *Ibid.*, I, 100-101.
101 Kar, 314-319; Sengupta, *Srī Madācārya*, pp. 550-552.
102 Kuladananda, I, 101.
103 Interview with Jananjan Pāl, Octaber 13, 1972.
104 Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, *Bipin Chandra Pal and India's struggle for Swaraj* (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 1-2.

The initiation itself left a deep imprint. He relates that for weeks afterwards he almost constantly repeated the *diksa* mantra. He stopped eating meat and eggs. Above all Vijay Kṛṣṇa was able to convince him beyond a shadow of doubt that man's essence was inherently divine and immortal, thereby allaying Pāl's previous fear of death.[105] Vijay restored his faith in India's ancient scriptures and in the effectiveness of yoga. Having become skeptical of western science and rationalism, he concluded that Vijay's teachings provided meaningful answers to ultimate questions. By far the most important impact on Pāl was made by Vijay's magnetic personality. He saw in him a superman, an equal of the exalted rishis of the Vedic age. This confirmed him in the traditional view that the great rishis were the mainstay of India. How wrong had Max Müller been who had only praised ancient India, and who had studiously refrained from visiting modern India because he did not expect its past glory to have survived to the present. But was not Max Muller's dictum that India's sages had thought more deeply than their western counterparts applicable to the present? Was not Vijay Kṛṣṇa a genuine modern rishi?[106] Pāl too had attended the Kumbha Mela in Allahabad in 1894 and had met the sadhus who had gathered there from all corners of India. It had become clear to him that the sadhus more than compensated India for its material backwardness. They could indeed serve as ideal rallying symbols for nation-building. They were *the* key to an understanding of Indian history. India had one other advantage over the West: the guru-disciple relationship. For a true guru endowed with cosmic consciousness could lead man from darkness to light and could uncover truths concealed from rationalists. Pointing to Debendranath Tagore's introduction of individual reason and conscience in the Brahmo Samaj, Pāl warned that individual reason would lead to philosophical anarchy when ultimate questions would be determined by head count. And he added that the guru doctrine was more "rational."[107] Obviously he wanted to have the best of both worlds.

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105 Pal, *Saint Bijayakrishna Goswami*, pp. 62–65; *Memories of My Life and Times*, II, 126–28; See also Alexander Lipski, "Bipincandra Pal and Reform Hinduism," *History of Religions* II, No. 2 (November, 1971), 227–228.

106 Bipin Chandra Pal, *The Soul oj India* 4th ed., (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 4–5, 32–42.

107 Pal, Character Sketches, (Calcutta, 1957), p. 67; *The Soul of India*, pp. 32-42.

Inspired by Vijay Kṛṣṇa, Pāl sang the praises of a regenerated Vaiṣṇavism. He reinterpreted Caitanya presenting him as a synthesizer of tradition and modernity. Had Caitanya not combined progressive social views with the liberating teachings of *bhakti* yoga? Vaiṣṇavism, Pāl argued, was preferable to Vedantism which had medieval features, such as undue, stress on asceticism and extreme monism—tantamount to a denial of this world. On the other hand, Vaiṣṇavism had rid itself of medievalism. It advocated a householder's life and it gave due weight to the reality of the manifest aspect of the universe.[108] To counter the missionaries' claim that Christianity was superior to Hinduism, Pāl proclaimed the superior virtues of Hinduism in its Vaiṣṇava form. Vaiṣṇavism's supreme *avatāra*, Lord Kṛṣṇa, he asserted was a Super-Christ. While Christ was only the son of God, Kṛṣṇa was God the Father, and whereas Christ's kingdom was not of this world, Kṛṣṇa reigned in this world as well as in the transcendent realm. Furthermore, he was the unifyer, nay, the very soul of India![109] But to his contemporaries Pāl offered Vijay Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, the "man of the age" (yuger mānuś). And he asserted that Vijay's teachings were meant for all mankind, since Vijay had gone beyond the western concept of treating men as equals to the realization of man's inherent divinity.[110] *Vaiṣṇavism über alles* was thus destined to unify the world. Alas, no Vivekananda emerged to spread the message of the saint of Śāntipur in the West.

108 Pal, *Character Sketches*, pp. 3–4; *Memories of My Life and Times*, II, 245; *Bengal Vaishnavism*, 2d ed. (Calcutta, 1962), pp. 98–99.

109 Pal, *Writings and Speeches*,(Calcutta, 1958), I, 62–63; "Shree Shree Kris hna,', unpublished manuscript.

110 Pal, *Character Sketches*, pp. 247–263; *Yuger Manus*, pp. 12–15.

Reviews

INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS by D. C. Jha, (Patna, 1972)

Ever since the 'Great Divide' of the sub-continent, Pakistan has been a firation, not only in our domestic affairs, but even more so in the realm of our foreign policy. The tragedy has been the greater because of the closeness, nay the intimacy of the ethnic, cultural, social and economic ties that bind the two people. Perhaps because of this there has been the emergence of a love-hate relationship between the two countries which, despite varied attempts at rapprochement or reconciliation, has culminated in three armed conflicts during the quarter century of their existence. Essentially what has soured the founts of goodwill, and bedevilled all efforts at normalisation has been a deep-rooted, even a pathological, suspicion of each other's motives and bona-fides and, to an extent, that green-eyed monster called jealousy between two—to use the title of Kuldip Nayar's recent study—'distant neighbours.'

If only the two of them had been left to their own devices to sort out their problems: But nations, even as individuals, do not function in a political vacuum. Understandably, therefore, outside powers, with large stakes in the fortunes of the sub-continent, stoked the fires of hatred and kept them smouldering. It may perhaps be pertinent in this context to sound a note of warning in regard to the euphoria over the recent Simla accord. For while one may fondly hope that it has reversed a seemingly irreversible trend, it may be sobering to reflect that the past twenty-five years have been littered with the debris of many a well-intentioned, and well-conceived effort.

Dr. Jha's book based on his doctoral dissertation under the same title, confines itself to a period of five years between the settlement of the Indus Waters dispute in September, 1960 and the outbreak of a full-scale war between the two countries, in September, 1965. Characteristically, these years were witness to traumatic ups and downs. Thus the birth of a new era of goodwill, which the settlement of the waters dispute was to usher, remained a pipe-dream and except for a few months of false labour pains, between April and October (1964), relations between the two countries continued to be on the downgrade, culminating in the 22-day war of September, 1965.

In his painstaking, if at times over-worked, analysis of the stages by which Indo-Pak relations deteriorated during these years, the author deservedly gives pride of place to Kashmir followed by skirmishes over the Rann of Kutch and such other hardy perennials as the 'minority problems.' The difficulty about analysing these questions, more specifically those of Kashmir and the minorities, lies in that they stretch far beyond—and in either direction—the 5-year span of Dr. Jha's study. It should be obvious that their treatment could, at best, be incomplete, if to that extent unsatisfactory.

Necessarily the study of such a contemporary phase as the years 1960-65, has to rely principally on parliamentary debates and official publications as well as such secondary sources as newspapers and books. Governmental archives, for obvious reasons, are not accessible. Certain limitations, however, it appears to this reviewer could, with some effort and imagination, have been overcome. A visit to Pakistan, though admittedly difficult at the best of times, may not have been impossible—given the resources and the leverage, which the Indian School of International Studies commands. In any case, it would have been extremely useful in viewing things in their proper perspective. Again, it may be well to point out that Urdu newspapers such as the *Imroze*, the *Jung* and the *Nawa-i-Waqt* are much more representative of Pakistani public opinion than the somewhat staid *Dawn* of Karachi. It follows that the author's inability to use them tends to detract from the quality of his work. Again, the views of experts, including diplomats, who have a first-hand knowledge of the subject—and many in New Delhi would answer to that description—may have lent the work a certain corrective. Finally, it appears to have escaped the author that a book in cold print has a different clientele to cater to than a heavily padded doctoral dissertation. It would have helped readibility, if the volume had been drastically reduced in size; an edge would have been given to argument and a sharpness lent to the principal conclusions. As it is, the hallmark of this essentially useful work is its annoying, if sometimes agonising, repetitiousness.

P. L. MEHRA

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE TIME OF DANDIN. by Dh. K. Gupta, Meharchand Lachmandas, Delhi, 1972. pp. XVI+458 Price Rs. 44.00

Daṇḍin is an author of great significance in the classical Sanskrit literature. The researches concerning his personality, his works, and time represent an eminent contribution to the history of Sanskrit literature, task for Dh. K. Gupta is a qualified scholar competent to work on this topic as he has already written a brilliant book on the works of Daṇḍin.[1] The present publication consists of seven parts:

I. *Daṇḍin and his time.* This is in fact a summary of Dh. K. Gupta's theory which had been explained in detail in his previous book. Gupta has tried to prove that Daṇḍin lived in the 7.–8. century A.D. The given evidence seems to us, however, not so convincing and we rather think of the 6.–7. century A. D. as his time.

II. *Historical perspective of the time.* The connection of Daṇḍian's time with the Pallava dynasty is generally accepted by competent scholars. However, we cannot decide with certainty whether Daṇḍin might be ascribed to the age of Narasiṁhavarman I. Mahāmalla or to Mahendravarman II.[2] The general ideas of the age namely the idea of a united India to which Daṇḍin may have been exposed had been existing already since the Gupta period. Also, the term *Cakravartin* goes back at least to the pre–Gupta period (cf. the title of Roman Caesars, of Parthian kings and of Chinese emperors and it can be found in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Inner–Asia). The theoretical arguments on which the references to ASK are based are not acceptable because the author of this work is unknown and the redaction of it has been accomplished certainly at a later time.[3]

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1 cf. my review on Dh. K. Gupta *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and his Works.* Delhi 1970. Meharchand Lachmandas. In *Acta Orientalia Hungarica.* Vol. XXVI. Fasc. 3-4. (Budapest 1972) pp. 397–398. (in English)

2 cf. V. Kaljanov's preface to the Russian translation of the *Daśakumāracarita.* Moscow 1964. (in Russian)

3 A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature.* Oxford 1920. p, XVI. " The effort to strengthen the case for dating Daṇḍin later than Bhāmaha by using the evidence of the Avantisudarīkathā and its Sāra is clearly a complete mistake."

III. *Geographical data in Daṇḍin's work.* Here Dh., K. Gupta presents a good, in every aspect, satisfactory study of Daṇḍin's geographical knowledge. (The map attached to the volume serves also as a practical directory).

IV. *Political theory and state administration.* The great importance of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* stressed by Gupta agrees with the opinion of other scholars. However we have a different opinion about Daṇḍin's political concept, and his personal attitude towards the *Arthaśāstra* has been clearly reflected in the chapter 8. of the *Daśakumāracarita.* But a more rigorous study is required. The mention of ancient authors (Uśanas, Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Bāhudantaka and Parāśara) by Daṇḍin does not in itself support the view of Dh. K. Gupta (p. 107) that Daṇḍin had read these works. The survey of the administrative system is very informative and comprehensive. Dh. K. Gupta succeeds in giving a happy interpretation of different terms like *kharvaṭaka* and *puṭabhedana* (p. 152) which have been heavily debated by many scholars formerly.[4]

V. *Social and economic life.* There is no doubt that Daṇḍin's description of the society, of the everyday life, and of customs is invaluable for the knowledge of the Early Mediaeval India, and it deserves the thorough investigation which Dh. K. Gupta has carried out. Characterizing the social structure Gupta says: "Degeneracy had set in the fields of *artha* and *kāma* also. We frequently notice crimes and corrupt practices and acts of moral turpitude not only in the lower stratum of society, but also in the upper circles and among the high functionaries of the royal court." (p. 197) But the same political practice was not uncommon in former times, although, we do not have such a descriptive source as the *Daśakumāracarita.* In the following pages Gupta deals too much with the institution of castes and Brahmanical social system and neglects the deeper investigation of the socio-economic structure of the society. He does not take into consideration the excellent studies of J. J. Meyer and W. Ruben which illuminate the society of the time from different ideological standpoints. The survey given by Gupta on

4 cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wortebuch des Altindischen.* Heidelberg 1964.

agriculture, flora, fauna as well as on animal husbandry is complete and exhaustive. The everyday life of contemporary India has been dealt in high standard. In our opinion the statement, "The term *gṛhapati* denoted the community of merchants who evinced Buddhistic influence and were known as such since the time of the Mauryas. The descendants of these *gṛhapatis* are now known as *gahoi vaiśyas*" (p.206), is not proper because the word gṛahapati is not restricted to such a limited meaning but is used in a much broader sense in the text of the *Daśakumāracarita*.[5]

VI. *Religious sects and cults.* The right interpretation of Daṇḍin's ideology is necessary for understanding his politico-social ideas too. Dh. K. Gupta states on page 22: "Daṇḍin was a votary of the Brahmanical religion, and though he was a devotee of Viṣṇu, he had a liberal attitude towards other faiths." This view has two vulnerable points, first that it is in contradiction to the generally accepted view according to which Daṇḍin was a Siva devotee and second that the Buddhists and the Jainas are unfavourably depicted. The coexistence of Viṣṇu and Śiva worship is well-known from contemporary literature, and in regard to South India we may distinguish two phases of these cults. The Śiva worship is the ideology of the "Brahmanical renaissance", whereas the Viṣṇu cult is a typical royal cult which has come down from ancient times. The dream of a united India in Daṇḍin's time may have been fulfilled under the aegis of a *cakravartin* who is the earthly resemblance of Viṣṇu (In the novel he is Rājavāhana). Furthermore Dh. K. Gupta does not consider the critical points of view on religion expressed by Daṇḍin especially in the chapters 2 and 8 of the *Daśakumāracarita*.

VII. *Education, literature and art.* This chapter belongs to the best part of Gupta's book and reveals a vivid picture of the cultural standard of the age.

Gupta's study reflects the present stage of the Daṇḍin-researches. This is a work of a high level in historical studies in Sanskrit literature and will be used as a standard monograph on this topic.

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5 The *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin. Ed. by M. R. Kale. Delhi 1966. Motilal Banarsidass. p. 157; p. 124; p. 120 etc. My study about *gṛhapati* is in the print in *Purākalpa* (Varanasi), Vol. I. (in Hindi)

With the necessary supplements concerning the social problems mentioned above, Gupta's book may be called an exhaustive study of the cultural and social history of Daṇḍin's time.

GY. WOJTILLA, M.A. Ph. D.

THE MEGALITHIC CULTURE IN SOUTH INDIA by B. K. Gururaja Rao, Prasanga, University of Mysore, 1972, pp. 390, Price Rs. 40/-

The name "Megalithic Culture" denotes the culture of the iron-age people who practised the custom of erecting stone tombs in the monuments to honour their dead. This phase forms an interesting chapter in the protohistoric studies of South India. Though investigations into the Megaliths have been going on for nearly a century sporadically, it is only in recent times there has been a concerted and scientific approach to know their date, authorship, antecedents etc. The work done in the earlier stages only revealed the contents or the gave-goods of the tombs like iron-tools, pottery etc. But only in the recent decades, from the excavations done at places like Brahmagiri, their true chronological horizon was somewhat more precisely obtained. Since then, evidence is accumulating from different parts of South India by way of surface collections and excavations. A number of systematic excavations conducted like those at Sanur, Amritamangalam in Tamilnadu) Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Yallēśwaran in Andhra, Pōrkaḷam in Kerala, T. Narasipur in Mysore etc. have brought to light new data. Added to these are the evidences obtained from the Megalithic habitation sites like Kunnattūr, Maski etc. Now this culture, widespread as it was in peninsular India, also had wider impact in parts of Central and Northern India.

In this book Dr. B. K. Gururaja Rao, has brought together all the relevant data available on the subject and presented the same in a systematic manner. Nearly two thirds of the book is devoted to the description of the types of Megaliths found in various regions of South India. He has collected the information from the numerous excavation reports, as well as brief notices published in the "Indian Archaeology". The author could have additionally compressed in tabular form various regions, indicating the types available in each of them. This would have enabled him to present the disparate evidence in a manner useful for ready reference and comparison of the distribution pattern.

The chapter on the 'Megalithic types' compiles a list of all the known types on the basis of external and internal variations. The

chapter on "Skeleton Remains", which is important is dealt with all too briefly. The author says that there is evidence for the presence of the proto-Australoid, besides a mesocranial element, resembling closely the modern Dravidian-speakers of South India. In the chapter on "Everyday life," he deals with their food habits, occupations like agriculture, hunting, fishing etc. The cult of the dead had a strong hold on them. The author correctly notes that Megalithic people of the South were far behind their contemporaries in the Gangetic Valley who had established cities by 6th, 5th centuries B. C., but adds a somewhat contradictory statement that the Megalithic people were "a more dynamic people than the other iron age people in India." Can we go a step further and say that the northern counterparts were ahead in matters spiritual and intellectual also, as they had produced such rationalistic schools like Buddhism and Jainism in the 6th century B.C., when the Megalithic folk were still groping in the cult of the dead and animism? Only in the end-phase of the Megalithic period, represented by the Saṉgam works, we see a sudden spurt of the Vedic ideas as well as the Buddhist and Jain teachings—all swamping over South India in one stroke, as if to fill the vacuum there!

Regarding the authorship of the Megaliths, the author does not agree with the view that the Dravidians arrived with iron and Megalithism about 500 B. C. directly across the sea. Following Subba Rao and Soundara Rajan, he connects the Black and Red ware pottery found in Lothal, Central India, etc. with the Dravidians, who after a chequered movement, ultimately settled down in South India. They are said to have derived iron from North India and Megalithism from Baluchistan. This interpretation is quite plausible, but has one difficulty to face. If the Black and Red Ware people were the Dravidians, who were the Neolithic and Chalcolithic people of South India, who used the burnished grey Ware? Allchins quote anthropoligical evidence to show that they were the progenitors of present-day Dravidians of South India. If so, why the Black and Red ware is absent among the Neolithic Dravidians is not clear. Moreover, the skeletal remains from Megaliths have shown the presence of the proto-Australoid, thereby showing that they were not exclusively Dravidians. The ethnic and cultural affinities, if any, between the Neolithic folk and their Megalithic successors of South India is an important factor which still awaits detailed investigation. Excavations in the Megalithic habitation sites such as at Paiyampalli in North Arcot could have been included in the book.

Dr. Gururaja Rao's book is to be welcomed as it would surely enable scholars to take stock of the evergrowing body of evidence on this important subject.

K. V. RAMAN.

MINTS AND MINTING IN INDIA. By Upendra Thakur. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies Vol. LXXXVIII. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi—1, 1972. Pages 192 + X + Plates 6. Rs. 20.00

The recent researches in ancient Indian numismatics have mostly been connected with certain formal and technical aspects of coins. But there are problems of a general and theoretical nature which have not been able to create much interest among the researchers. The present monograph is a welcome addition to the slender number of publications devoted to a study of problems of the second type and discusses questions about when, by whom, how, where and why the coins were minted.

The first two chapters deal with stages preceding the first emergence of coins in India. Chapter I on the age of barter and exchange discusses the evidence for the prehistoric period, the Harappan age, the Vedic age and the later period as reflected in the writings of Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kauṭilya. It is shown that with the development of commerce articles such as garments, coverlets and goat-skins were used as circulating media followed by metals and shells, first as ornaments and then as units of currency. In Chapter II the author shows that true coins were not known in pre-Buddhist period. Currency, in its first stage, was only a metallic medium of exchange of standard weight. Dr. Thakur critically analyses the nature of *niṣka*, *hiraṇyapiṇḍa*, *Śatamāna*, *pādu*, *sāṇa*, *surarṇa and kārṣāpaṇa* and its sub-multiples. *Kārṣāpaṇa* was the name of the silver punch-marked coins, the earliest indigenous currency in circulation since 600 B. C.

In the third chapter the author shows that coinage was not the sole privilege of the state. In pre-Mauryan times coins were issued by *naigamas or śreṇīs* in the absence of any central authority to regulate them. In the *Arthaśāstra* currency in the sole concern of the state. The author surveys the history of the minting of coins analysing the political and economic factors which conditioned it. In this frame work he discusses certain general questions, such as, the source of silver and gold for the coins and the position of Roman currency in India.

In the next chapter the author shows that the place of minting of the early Indian coins can be determined with the help of the various meaningful symbols on them. From the third century B. C. the technique of casting coins from moulds was introduced. The coin-moulds and coin-dies reveal the birth-place of the coin. The author describes the various coin-moulds discovered so far. He completes his narrative by giving an account of the mints of the medieval and modern periods.

In the last chapter the author discusses some problems connected with the importance of the numismatic data far economic history. He rightly stresses the desirability of determining the volume of the coins in circulation. According to him we glean from the coins internal,. external and archaeological evidence. He finally attempts a chronological survey of the bearing of the coins on economic history.

Dr. Thakur has selected some particular problems connected with mints and minting, but his treatment is exhaustive covering all possible aspects of these problems. He minutely analyses diverse types of evidence bearing on the problems and gives due notice to the latest studies done by other researchers.

There is no doubt that Dr. Thakur has made a useful contribution which will be well received. It is hoped that the second edition of the work will cover a wider range of problems connected with his subject.

PROF. LALLANJI GOPAL

THE CITY IN EARLY HISTORICAL INDIA. By A. Ghosh. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla; 1973. Pages 98. Rs. 17.00.

The sixth century B. C. is rightly recognised as an age of intellectual upheaval in the history of Indian and other contemporary civilized countries, China, Persia and Greece. The revolution in the world of thought was accompanied by epoch-making changes in the sphere of social set-up, eeonomic activities and administrative organization. As compared with other periods of ancient Indian history, this period has some useful literary evidence fruitfully analysed by a number of scholars beginning with Rhys Davids and Fick. Among the socio-economic changes occurring in the period, one of vital significance is the rise of cities. This has been named as the Urban Revolution, sometimes called second because chronologically the Harappan culture is taken to represent the First Urban Revolution.

Mr. A. Ghosh has focussed the attention of scholars on this interesting development by analysing its origin and nature. Having been associated with the archaeological work in the country for more than three decades, he can discuss the archaeological evidence with the utmost authority. Originally a student of Sanskrit, he can do equal justice to the literary evidence. Thus, he is in a position to take into account the totality of evidence and determine the nature of the Urban Revolution in Northern India.

Mr. Ghosh calls the sixth century B. C. the early historical period. In the introductory chapter of his present publication he traces the antecedents of the North Indian urbanism in this period. He brings into relief the relevant features of the Indus civilization and later Vedic age and the bearing of the introduction of iron on the economy of the people.

In the second chapter Mr. Ghosh studies a few sociological theories about the distinguishing features of pre-industrial urbanism and discusses the extent to which they are applicable to India of the period of his study. This places Indian urbanism in a wider perspective and helps in determining its nature and significance.

The third chapter deals with the foundation of the *janapadas* as *grāma*, *ghoṣa*, *nagara* and *samvāha*, are discussed to find out the points on which the village differs from a town.

Literary evidence about the city has been explored in the fourth chapter. From this source we get terms for urban settlements of a variety of types. But, descriptions of cities in literature, as pointed out by Mr. Ghosh, are 'repetitive and conventional to the extreme'. The life in the cities, their administration and their importance as centres of education or places of pilgrimage have also been dealt with.

The archaeological evidence has been very carefully analysed in chapter V. Mr. Ghosh tries to determine how far Childe's criteria of the city receive archaeological confirmation. In this context he discusses evidence bearing on the extent of the cities, then planning, fortifications, sanitary arrangements, coinage system, and monumental buildings and the building material used in them.

The last chapter deals with the origin of the early historical urbanism. Mr. Ghosh dismisses the possibility of Harappan urbanism being its archetype; in view of the chronological and geographical gaps

the Harappan tradition cannot be said to have survived upto, or revived in, the early historical period. Likewise, neither the Achaemenid empire of Persia nor Central Asia could have been the source of inspiration.

Mr. Ghosh has prepared a balanced account covering as much ground as possible within the limitations of the available evidence. It is hoped that future studies on the subject will bear in mind the problems and points raised by him. The necessity for horizontal excavations at a few sites comes up prominantly. Literary evidence may also be thoroughly searched for relevant information. That such an analysis may give some information can be illustrated by one example. On page 30, Mr. Ghosh points out that 'in medieval Indian cities certain streets and lanes were reserved for certain crafts' but is not aware of evidence to confirm it for ancient India. The *Jātakas*, however, do mention streets (*vīthis*) of *dantakāras*, *rajakas*, *odonikagharas* and *tantavitaṭṭhānas*.

Mr. Ghosh does not give a consolidated bibliography but lists the important original and secondary works in the footnotes. But, the lists are by no means exhaustive. Thus on page 6, footnote 15 does not refer to Shivaji Singh's criticism of the suggested interpretation of the expression *nīla-lohita*. It may incidently be pointed out that, in view of the researches of R. C. Mujumdar *JAOS*, LXXVIII, pp. 273-76) the reference to a 'board of thirty officers, divided into six bodies of five members each, for the administration of Pāṭalipura' (pages 52-53) need not be ascribed to Megasthenes.

Mr. Ghosh does not mince matters. He is objective, frank and balanced in his views. His views about the dating of the archaeological remains at Kauśāmbī, Ujjain and Rajghat may be mentioned by way of illustration. Brevity and compactness are the distinguishing marks of Mr. Ghosh's style. He has collected a fund of information within the limited space of ninety pages. One may differ from him on individual points (e. g., the intence community life of the city of Vaiślāī is not the result of an effort to idealise—p. 28, but, was due, perhaps, to its being the capital of a republic; the translation of the expression *sarvārthacintaka* as a mighty and fierce officer of all affairs—p. 52, even though within quotes, is not happy), but it will have to be admitted that his work is a model for such studies.

LALLANJI GOPAL

OUR EXCHANGES

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
2. Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin. Madras.
3. Bharatiya Vidya, Bombay.
4. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.
5. Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras.
6. Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London.
7. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
8. Current History Inc.
9. India Quarterly, New Delhi.
10. Indo Asian Culture, New Delhi.
11. Indological Studies, Delhi.
12. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca.
13. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
14. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
15. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
16. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
17. Journal of Tamil Studies, Madras.
18. Journal of the University of Bombay (Arts) – Bombay.
19. Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore.
20. University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Birmingham.
21. Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur.

FORM IV

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(*Continued from page 1*)

Page

REVIEWS: 237

1. D. C. Jha, *Indo-Pakistan Relations*—by P. L. Mehra.
2. K. Gupta, *Society & Culture in the Time of Dandin*—by Gy. Wojtilla.
3. B. K. Gururaja Rao, *The Megalithic Culture of South India*—by K. V. Raman
4. Upendra Thakur, *Mints & Minting in India*—by Lallanji Gopal.
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